

THE MASSACRE
IN LEBANON

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

SEPTEMBER 27, 1982

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Labor's Big Retreat

The autoworkers'
landmark
settlement

Trading benefits
for job security

Laying plans for
a grim future

UAW Canadian Director
Robert White



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CLARENCE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Macleans

SEPTEMBER 27, 1981 VOL. 15 NO. 39

COVER

Labor's big retreat

Big labor's back in up against the wall. Facing layoffs and shutdowns, unions are reluctantly trading hard-won benefits—and confrontation—for steady work. The United Auto Workers was the latest to concede in Canada last week—but union leaders have issued clear warnings that such peace may be temporary if the necessary does not resolve. —Page 28

COVER PHOTO BY STEVE LEE FOR MACLEANS



The grisly conclusion

The discovery of six bodies in a burned-out car raised the search for two missing families, but now British Columbians worry about the wilderness. —Page 35



Saluting an anxious ally

Winning President Reagan's approval during an official visit to Washington was the prize Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos craved. —Page 39



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The massacre in Lebanon

With the assassination of Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel and the massacre that followed it, hopes for peace in the Middle East again were snuffed out. —Page 18



A potent toast to life

Paul Manu's *Tempest*, with John Cassavetes and Gena Rowlands, is a daring adaptation of Shakespeare's play by a director reaching his prime. —Page 62

On thin ice

Regarding Another Black Eye for Hockey's Image (Sports, Aug. 30): The recent Polanski incident is just one of a great number of brutal incidents that have marred the image of hockey. There is no question that a certain amount of violence has been and always will be a part of the game of hockey. However, there is a fine line that should be recognized by those in the sport. The sooner they wake up to the fact that hockey's image is being jeopardized, the sooner we will be able to get the game out of the courts and back onto the ice where it belongs.

—TOM KAGLIS
Toronto

Subway musicians praised

Your review *Sensitively and Subtly* (For the Record, Sept. 4) seems to put down Canadian talent. I have heard true entertainment in the subway but in a lot of dishes. For instance, while Phil Wilson was hunkering out earlier this year at Toronto's Royal York Hotel, Rick and Gina Rae were picking their in for a month at a nearby lounge.

—JAN HILL,
Toronto

Hard-to-believe facts

It is pretty well accepted that Thomas Crapper invented the flush toilet and, possibly to his great chagrin, had his name enshrined in the English language. But Otto Fackler, inventor of the brassiere (Glamour Triennial People's Choice, June, Aug. 30)? I think you've been had. If this is indeed a question in



Farewell to control violence

the game Triennial Parade, it may well serve to discourage true trivia buffs. Oh well—clot in game (passed after Gen. Alfonso Gueiro).

—JOE HILGREN
Rex, Nev.

Criticism too harsh?

Allen Fotheringham is harsh and unjust in his criticism of Prime Trudeau (As a Land of Spreading Deceit, Sept. 13). Delect spending is run out of control and threatening total destruction of the economy. No government has found an answer to the twin problems of inflation and stagflation within the framework of the capitalist system, but solutions outside that framework are not acceptable to the Canadian people or to the Americans, who determine our economic destiny. Trudeau appears inadequate only because we are asking him to do the impossible: to provide a capitalist ready for a basic and irremediable defect of capitalism.

—SA MURPHY DODDIE, MD
Scarborough

A salute to Canada

As an American living in what is surely one of the most heavily targeted "hate strike" areas of the United States, I urge Canadians to reject the overblown reaction to the U.S. ambassador to Canada, Paul H. Robinson Jr., in his Aug. 24 podium (Forgetting the First That Stand). With American and Soviet possession of more than 40,000 atomic and hydrogen bombs, there is absolutely no sane reason to engage in an arms buildup as an "unfathomable deterrent." I salute Canada for not having atomic weapons and for putting life and the well-being of your citizens above the obsessive fear of an overblown image of "adversaries." —WYRON J. A. GOSWOLD,
Seattle, Wash.

PASSAGES

ASSASSINATED: President-elect Bushir Gossard of Lebanon, 34, in a bomb blast at his Philadelphia party headquarters on East Street (page 18)

DEEN: Princess Grace of Monaco, 32, the former Grace Kelly, who gave up her acting career to marry Prince Rainier III of Monaco (page 24)

EXECUTED: Former Iranian foreign minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, 45, after a lengthy trial in Tehran. The U.S.-educated politician, with the aid of Abolmoussa Bani-Sadr, who became Iran's first president, helped to engineer the seizure from exile of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. When Khomeini was installed as the Islamic Revolution's high priest, Ghotbzadeh was high in official esteem. But after Bani-Sadr's ouster, he too fell out of favor with the ruling mullahocracy.

RECOGNIZED: Controversial Quebec separatist singer Gilles Vigneault, awarded the Molson Prize for his contributions to the arts in Canada. Others who received prizes, each worth \$25,000, were publisher Jack McGehee, political scientist Alan Cairns of the University of British Columbia and geographer Louis-Edmond Hamelin of the University of Quebec, for their work in the humanities and social sciences. The awards are administered by the Canada Council.

DEED: Former president Kristina Eklund of Iceland, 45, in Boston, after undergoing a heart operation. Eklund was an archeologist and curator of the National Museum of Iceland until he was elected president in 1996. A position he held for 12 years.

DEED: John Gardner, 45, novelist, poet and teacher, in a motorcycle accident near his home in Ringoesburg, Pa. Gardner was head of the creative writing program at the State University of New York at Binghamton. Among his writings were the novels *Crucible* (1971), *The Daylight Marriage* (1972) and *October Light*, for which he won the National Book Critics Circle Award in 1975.

DEED: Laurence Hemmingsway, 67, writer and only brother of the late American novelist Ernest Hemmingsway, from a self-inflicted gunshot wound to the head at his home in Miami Beach. Ernest Hemmingsway had killed himself in the same way in 1961. Their father, Dr. Clarence Hemmingsway, also shot and killed himself in 1929. Among Laurence Hemmingsway's works is the 1962 biography, *My Brother, Ernest Hemmingsway*.

Everyone makes mistakes

Regarding Rank-and-File Canada vs. Union Goliaths (Labour, Aug. 30): Your writer contends that one aggrieved worker believed that union leaders, like judges and popes, rarely made mistakes. Indeed, neither union leaders nor judges are infallible. When judges err, their decisions are overturned by appeal courts. When union leaders make mistakes, however, their decisions become the basis of a *Motion Picture*. The fact is that without the benefit of trade unions, thousands of Canadian workers would face unfair treatment at the hands of employers. —GRACE HARTMAN,
National President,
Canadian Union of Public Employees,
Ottawa

A clear-cut distortion

Regarding your article on the emerging pattern of violence unfolding in Montreal (A Slow Shift Toward Anarchy, World, Aug. 30): I find it quite astonishing that you describe as a search the picture of what is quite obviously government troops beating a suspect with a wooden stick. Although I have seen the same picture in a number of other publications, often very much clearer than in your magazine, only one has had the courage to identify it as an example of routine torture to extract information. —MICHAEL TAYLOR,
Montreal

Parliament works wonders

Regarding Barbara Amiel's Aug. 30 column, *The Seat for the Right Turntable* (The Seat for the Right Turntable, 30, 30): Orders-in-Council in 1983. As Parliament sits 200 days a year, that means 14 to 20 a day, and that would have come about what they already decided and passed. I believe that would be an impossible task, knowing the speed at which our Parliament works, especially with our *Italy Inquisition*—I mean, Opposition. —W. LADISLAW STALA,
Toronto

A picture worth words

In the caption under a crowded photograph (*The Premier's Test Troubled Wives*, Canada, Sept. 6), you point out Premiers Howard Pawley (back to camera), William Davis and Bert Levesque. Surely by now we should also recognize the man leaning largest in the foreground—Saskatchewan's rookie premier, Grant Devine. —J. FRED KINGS,
Toronto

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Write your comments on any address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, 437 University Ave., Toronto, Ont. M5G 1A7

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Grounding the Spaceship Earth

By Barbara Amiel

As ever, the Eastern Europeans have a joke for it. Bribed the Free Martians, current wit goes as follows.

Question: What is the New International Economic Order?
Answer: The New International Economic Order is a system whereby poor people of rich countries give assistance to the rich people of poor countries.

Nothing could bring home the accuracy of the joke better than watching the joint meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank held in Toronto earlier this month, where senior diplomats from some of the poorest countries in the world seemed intent on setting new records for personal and national ostentation. Observers noted wryly that these countries, with the largest delegations, longest stretch limousines and most elegant clothing also scored high on the closest to bankrupt index.

To Toronto they all came, carrying with them schemes and schemes for global income redistribution. Behind the schemes lies the belief that it is morally right, practically desirable and possible to transfer the resources and wealth of the industrialized nations to the underdeveloped countries. Though acceptance of this varied in degree, with the possible exception of the United States, no country raised any serious questions about such a conclusion. The only problem seemed simply to be a question of finding the right agency.

Canada has long been a vocal proponent of global income redistribution. Progressive Conservative MP Douglas Roche is a leading member of our foreign aid industry. In his book *Justice Not Charity*, Roche gives a somewhat idealistic definition of the central thought of all those who talk about North-South dialogue, new economic orders, economic liberation, and so on. According to Roche, the problem is that Canadians—like most in the First World—have and consume more than their fair share of resources. "Along with Americans and Western Europeans we earn more, spend more, use more, and waste more than was ever imagined possible by our ancestors. . . . With only 64 per cent of the world's population we have 73 per cent of the earth's land surface, 35 per cent of its known freshwater resources. . . ."

Roche's conclusion: we have at the expense of others not having. The interna-

tional solution: global socialism. On an individual level he lists 45 things Canadians can personally do, including eating less meat, stopping the fortifying of loaves, and putting up a picture of Tasmanian strangler John Myerrie in their homes (Myerrie's direct and bloody collectivization turned a self-sufficient country into a basket case).

Implicit in this approach is the idea that resources belong to the whole world and that no nation on any one country's part is a sovereign or isolated state. This is the view of the planet as "Spaceship Earth" and the concept behind Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's speech to the UN delegates challenging nations to show less national selfishness. With this attitude we must understand that there is no such thing as Canada's wheat—the world has grain of which Canada consumes too much. There is no such thing as American

The basic problems of developing countries are with their own corrupt and inefficient systems

lead-only the world's most of which Americans raise a disproportionate amount and eat far too much. The resources that the Western World has and what they do with them are a matter of international, not sovereign, concern.

What is intriguing about this Spaceship Earth theory is that it breaks down as soon as it is applied to the Third World. Details about the resources of the Third World and how it uses them are a matter of sovereign interest and not to be meddled in by paternalistic Westerners. If anyone suggests that resources aid for poor countries should be tied to a look at the ways in which they use their resources, the response is immediate—this is unwarranted interference in the sovereign affairs of developing countries, whose basic problems are clearly not with our wealth but with their own corrupt and inefficient economic and political systems.

The foreign aid lobby cannot have it both ways. Either the world's resources are owned and developed by each nation in its own national interest, which has been the standard assumption till recently, or, if this is not so and we all own

everything, then the first question we have to ask is why the Soviet Union, which covers one-sixth of the world's total land area, cannot feed its own people without buying grain from the West. The Soviet system manages resources.

This obvious statement has a curious consequence. By now the economic and political theories of the Soviet Union are the theories that rule most of the poorest countries in the world. But that philosophy is not the only element in these countries' disastrous economies. Many Third World countries have managed to combine the mismanagement inherent in Marxist-socialism, which would cause even the Swiss to ruin their balance sheet if it were introduced there, with the mismanagement inherent in purely personal, almost feudal-style corruption. Louis, Durochinsky and Stefan managed to ruin their nation's economy even while living in three-storey flats and sleeping on cots.

But in Latin America or Africa no such restraint is seen. Watching three senior African delegates at front of Toronto's Sheraton Centre, their suits the epitome of elegance, their chauffeurs at the ready, one could only imagine the conditions in which most of their people lived in order to finance this scale of consumption—likely financed by any North American government official. One is reminded of the plaintive comments made by our ambassador to Ghana, Michel Gervin, who, when returning to Peking, sitting, correctly, as all Canadian ambassadors do, in the economy section of the plane, glimpsed beyond the first-class curtain where three Third World representatives were flying home in style after negotiating CIDA grants.

These observations indicate both the priorities and the personal morality at the recipients of our aid, who so often, often a corrupt bureaucracy. It confirms the observation made by economist P.T. Poon (in his book *Equity & the Third World*, in speaking of the aid bureaucracy "as so often happens, people who set out to do good, do well." Very well—for themselves.

Surely by now it must be evident to our foreign aid lobby that it is not the glut of aid for our citizens that has any bearing on world poverty or hunger. No profitable playboy of the Western World could begin to match the squander that takes place when corrupt governments commit themselves to Marxist policies of wasting resources

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Discord in Peace Park

By Gordon Legge

On the gravel shores of Cassies Lake, in the western reaches of Watkins Lake National Park, a visitor stands at the centre of a sublime amphitheatre of Olympian proportions. To the right are the peaks

of agnate, fir and pine that make up the continental divide. To the south is Mount Cassies, whose massive available slopes empty into the water. There, at the end of the lake, it is possible to trace the terrible line of the 49th parallel running across the foot of the mountains.



The Schmidts, town is going downhill

Named after Charles Waterton, a British naturalist who never set foot in the area, Waterton Park encompasses 200 square miles of rugged mountain ridges and rolling prairie grasslands wedged into the southwest corner of Alberta. It joins Glacier Lake National Park in the United States to form Glacier-Waterton International Peace Park, created in 1932 to commemorate the "long-existing relationship between the people and governments of Canada and the United States." The creation of the joint park realized a dream of two area pioneers: John George (Kootenai) Brown, a Shakespearian-questing frontiersman who was Waterton's first settler, and Brown's friend Henry (Death-on-the-Trail) Reynolds, one of Glacier's first foresters, so nicknamed because of his propensity for leaving enraptured companions collapsed on the trail in the wake of his swiftly moving Alouka beaver. Since the first settlers arrived in the 1850s, manors have coexisted on the serenity that permeates the region. As one participant in the 1932 dedication ceremony noted: "The whole region has about it something indelible. Perhaps the dominant presence which breathes over it, and which is universally felt, may best be described as Peace."

Yet—on the Canadian side—that tranquil aura conceals a long-simmering feud between the Parks Canada officials who run Waterton and many of the veteran business people who serve the park's half-million visitors each summer. Moreover, efforts by Parks officials to create a United Nations-sponsored international biosphere reserve, encompassing both the park itself and the area surrounding it, have been met with suspicion and indifference by those living on the park's borders. Finally, the park is increasingly a wilderness island, squeezed on three sides by forest, mining, oil and gas and redevelop-

ment. development. Thus, as a tiny corner of Canada predicated on peace, questions over man's coexistence with nature have created a conundrum.

The original intention of the park's founders, in 1886, was to preserve a small piece of the country's natural heritage. But, as early as 1915, federal planners saw the potential for economic development to attract tourist dollars, particularly from the United States. The sleepy town of Waterton is dominated by the Prince of Wales Hotel, a Swiss-style, log-house inn built in 1927 as part of a major thrust to turn the park into a tourist haven. But business people say the drive to attract tourists was reversed in the 1960s as the environmental movement began to take hold. "Thirty years ago it was a lot more fun. There were a lot more things going on that brought people," says Marjorie Schmidt, recalling the dance palace that once stood across the street. Schmidt and her husband, Leo, run the Tourist Café, a cozy diner on Waterton's main street that has changed little since it was opened in 1923. Leo Schmidt, 55, who makes all his own pork, dinner rolls, muffins and doughnuts, chews on an unlit wooden match stick and agrees: "They [Parks Canada] don't want to spend any money in the town anymore. It has just been going down hill for the past 20 years. Look at the roads, the sidewalks, the lamps. Sometimes I think they want to do away with the townsite."

The run-down roadside of local roads and sidewalks is a favorite grievance of waterkeeper Wendy West, who complains that Parks officials today are more interested in animals than they are in people. "Basically, what they're trying to do is push everybody out of here," she says. West and her husband, Rod, run a grocery and deli/confection store, open seven days a week April through September. It is a Mom-and-Pop operation, typical of many Waterton businesses, relying heavily on family help to keep costs down and make a profit. In the past two winters the Wests' store has taken \$2,000 a month from \$275, and the Wests are appealing to their landlord—the federal government. In Waterton there is no elected council to which residents can turn to grieve. As in all national parks, Waterton residents must rely on their landlord's benevolence in overruling decisions. "Living in a national park is as close as you get to a dictatorship in a free country," says Rod West.

But Waterton Park's new superintendent, Dennis Leff, 44, denies that the town is hard done by. With only 1200 square miles of surrounding park, Waterton is, in relative terms, as developed as Banff, Leff insists. And he does not

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want it to get much bigger. Pointing to a significant decline in the park's budget over the past five years, Leff noted, "We'll eventually have to face the reality that something's got to go—either by decreasing staff or reducing services." Either way, more tourists in the park will not be welcome. "We're having difficulty coping with the level of use we're getting now, and there are indications it will get worse."

Some Waterton residents like the town the way it is. Hank Kratz, who owns the 52-room Steinhilber Inn along the edge of Waterton Lake and who

plans to construct an addition, does not want to see Waterton become another Banff, overrun year-round with tourists. "I would hate to see this park wrecked. The biggest selling point we have is the peace and the quiet and the animals."

However, even Kratz questions what Parks Canada is trying to do to the business people. In June, after an hour-long meeting between federal Environment Minister John Roberts—who was there to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Peace Park—and the business community, Kratz left shaking his head

in disbelief. Despite the fact that the park receives only a handful of visitors from French Canada (most visitors come from southern Alberta and U.S. border states), the push for bilingualism is on in the park. Says Kratz: "They have insisted to us it will become a requirement of our license, which is as much as saying, 'You're going to do this.'"

Underlying the Albertans' dissatisfaction with park management is, of course, a general dislike of anything imposed by the federal government. And this does not make it any easier for

Waterton (above), Prince of Wales Hotel; Left: "a national park is as close as you get to a dictatorship in a free country"



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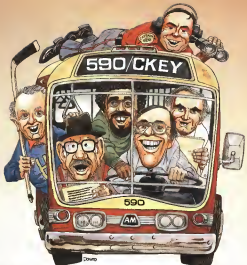


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Bernie Liuff is proud with his plan to make a reality of Waterton's designation by UNESCO as an international biosphere reserve. (There is only one other biosphere reserve in Canada, at Mont-Saint-Hilaire in Quebec, which is managed by McGill University.) A reserve encompasses a "core area" of undisturbed wilderness land plus a surrounding swath of land or "buffer-zone" that is used and developed by man. Ideally, Parks officials and buffer-zone users must co-operate to make the biosphere a success. To that end, Liuff is putting together a committee of the various buffer-zone land users—farming companies, forestry firms, oil and gas companies (the site of Western Canada's first producing oil well is located within the park, at Oil City, eight kilometres from the townsite), ranchers and provincial wildlife officials.

A prime area of concern is the coal mine being developed near the western border of the park by Sage Creek Coal Ltd., a B.C. subsidiary of two multinational firms, Rio Algom and Fluor-Denham Oil. For years, Parks officials have successfully fought attempts to push a highway through the park to southeastern British Columbia. Now, a paved road being built up to the coal mine will have a similar effect, providing easier access to the park's western reaches and, hence, possibly changing the ecological balance in that area—the very thing officials have been fighting to avoid. "We certainly don't take a position against resource extraction outside the park," says Liuff. "But we're concerned about whether what goes on will have an impact on park resources."

So far, however, neighboring biologists, ranchers and government officials have been reluctant to become involved. Ranchers, who have been known to take aim at elk which tend to stray from the park into their fields in the spring, are traditionally hostile to the park. An exception is local rancher Charlie Russell, son of famed Canadian conservationist Andy Russell, who sits on one of the park's biosphere committees. When the committee sent out a questionnaire this year to 50 local ranchers asking them how they felt about the park, they received only four replies. Russell, who sees the biosphere concept as helpful in preserving ranchland from commercial development, feels that this is short-sighted. As he told a biosphere symposium in Nanaimo in late June, "I like the concept that we do not inherit our land from our ancestors, but rather we borrow it from our children." However, at this stage, the only thing that is clear about the go-go-on at Waterton is that the parents of those children will be arguing for many years to come about the kind of inheritance they intend to bequeath.



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A high-priced fight against hijackers

By Shona McKay

Eleven years ago, 27-year-old Scottish immigrant Paul Cui held a sword-off chop-pon to the head of an Air Canada stewardess aboard a Toronto-bound DC-8 and demanded to be flown to Ireland. During the next seven hours, Cui blew a hole in the plane's fuselage and, for his pains, received \$50,000 in exchange for the release of 138 passengers. The ordeal—the most dramatic of the dozen hijackings that have occurred in Canada—ended only when two crew members wrestled Cui down. He was later sentenced to four life terms for hijacking, 14 years for extortion and 30 years for illegal possession of dynamite and a prohibited weapon.

For the millions of Canadians who followed the odyssey of Flight 838 on television and radio, the drama was a farcical one. At its peak in the late 1970s and early '80s, hijacking had become one of the accepted hazards of flight. Short then, however, the worldwide incidence of hijacking has

dropped—to 38 last year from 83 in 1973, the year that Flight 838 was commandeered. Many factors are responsible for the decline: the suppression of the riot in Jordan, the Karpis raid, Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's reversal of his earlier policy of sheltering hijackers.

'Just because you haven't had a fire in 10 years is no reason to get rid of the fire department'

ers, and improved airport security. In Canada, the Cui hijacking prompted Transport Canada to become involved in airport security, which had previously been the sole responsibility of the airlines.

By 1973 travellers at all major Canadian airports had to pass between metal-detection screens and have their carry-on baggage X-rayed. Also effective

in improving airport security were the changes in the Criminal Code making such demands as Maoe illegal and introducing stricter gun-control laws in 1976. The results speak for themselves. In the past five years not a single hijacking has occurred in Canada.

Ironically, such a safety record has lately brought about a re-examination of existing security. Airline companies, pointing to declining flying statistics, are questioning the need for across-the-board, high-level security. Their seal is nurtured by economists. Stocher Transport Canada for the airlines will disclose the total cost of airport security, but a guess can be taken from the United States, where \$200 million was spent last year. In Canada the cost of maintaining safety is borne by the air traveller. An added cost of \$1 per ticket is used to direct 50 cents to the screening process, 35 cents to the RCMP and 30 cents to municipalities. In addition, financially troubled airlines face added security costs of their own. For one thing, it takes between two and six hours to check out a bomb threat by



Screening passengers at Toronto airport, suffering the indignities of security

searching as a threat, and the cost of keeping a Boeing 767 grounded can run as high as \$10,000 an hour. A new test-case-use device developed by the National Research Council (NRC), which can detect a bomb within minutes, costs \$10,000. The price of a dog, trained to perform the same task, is a steep \$40,000 a year.

Lobbying by airlines to keep costs down, coupled with budgetary restraints at Transport Canada, has led to cutbacks in airport security over the past year. Reductions in the number of

staff assigned to airports (to 439 from 610 in 1981) and trimmed procedures at smaller domestic airports are expected to save \$1.5 million in 1982.

Not everyone is pleased with the savings. "As pilots, we had ourselves constantly striving to maximize the level of security we receive," says Fred Devos, an Air Canada pilot and spokesman for the security division of the Canadian Airline Pilots Association. "Just because you haven't had a fire in 10 years is no reason to get rid of the fire department." Devos points

out that the majority of hijackings now take place in foreign countries with inadequate or nonexistent security procedures. "And if you need further proof of the continuing necessity for security in this country," he adds, "you need only look to the number of gas abandoned in washroom garages, cans outside checkpoints in Canadian airports every year."

Costly as it is, the standard screening procedure is inadequate to deal with all forms of terrorist tactics. Of seven hijacking incidents in the United States last year, only one involved a gas and two involved the use of flammable liquids. Nonmetal detectors and chemical explosives can be easily concealed in carry-on luggage, and until such devices as the x-ray bomb detector are used as every plane, there is nothing to prevent hijackers from hoping that they have a bomb, as four did successfully, in the United States last year. To address that problem, the Federal Aviation Administration is experimenting with thermal sensitive detectors and nuclear resonance devices that can detect hidden explosives. Transport Canada is working on a bomb detector that could one day "tell" each passenger as part of the standard screening procedure. As long as there are hijackers, it seems that the indignities of airport security are here to stay. ☐

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Frudless and bodyguard move: Chrétien, Lalonde, with the deficit and unemployment soaring, is 'long, cold winter'

CANADA

A grim search for job funds

By Mary Jonigan

It was the same old gloomy song—but it was sweet music to the ears of the frayed business community. Finance Minister Marc Lalonde, anxious to dispel his image as an apologetic interventionist, plunged into a whirlwind round of meetings last week, stressing that private sector cashflows must be restored. And he modified his divided cabinet colleagues by agreeing to redirect every available cent to job creation—as long as these programs do not add to the skyrocketing deficit. The result was a temporary pause. But as Canada heads into a grim winter of more crippling unemployment, Lalonde realizes that he is going to be caught between the pleas of penny pushers and the increasingly agitated pressure from the unemployed.

Lalonde's first meetings were with his colleagues at the parties and planning cabinet committee at Mosch Lake, Que., where Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau led his ministers through the annual autumn rite of setting priorities. Although the numbers are not yet available, Lalonde's greatest worry is that the deficit is likely to be higher than the staggering \$29.6 billion predicted in the June budget. Employment Minister Lloyd Axworthy pleaded that the deficit should be allowed to rise anyway, since an estimated 380,000 Canadians will have exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits by

Christmas. Treasury Board President Dan Johnston argued that existing programs should be pared to the bone. Lalonde opted for a hard-line course. Almost every federal program will be examined over the next few weeks to see if the money can be better devoted to job creation. In a second round of meetings at Newch next month, the cabinet committee will slap a price tag on each of these new priorities by assigning money to so-called spending envelopes. "The margin for manoeuvre is very thin," sighs Lalonde.

Between cabinet meetings Lalonde whirled through an agenda that included meetings with leading economists, former finance ministers Jake Turner and Donald Macdonald and the Investment Dealers Association of Canada (IDA). Lalonde told businessmen that he has been unfairly cast as defeatist and interventionist. He defended his controversial National Energy Program but he delayed. "Believe me, there will be no NEP in the financial sector." And he cancelled that there are no instant solutions. Industry spokesmen were reassured. "When he was first appointed, I felt that it was the making of him the man the moderator of the United Church," says IDA Vice-Chairman Charles Howard. "Now I think he's going to be very conservative."

Despite this, Lalonde's problems are only beginning. Last week, Axworthy warned that unemployment is not expected to decline until at least

mid-1993, and Trudeau pointedly warned, "It's going to be a long, cold winter." Allan Rock, president of Business Research Ltd. of Toronto, agrees. However, that Canadians do expect quick solutions—and that spells trouble for any political leader. Gregg's summer polls show that only 30 per cent believe that Canada must wait for international economic conditions to change before things get better. Although a Gallup poll last week reported that 66 per cent of Canadians blame unemployment on the global recession, Gregg maintains that citizens "get mad at the people occupying the decision-making roles in the system."

Lalonde has already warned businessmen that he is going to face massive pressure to spend more money over the winter because of the "unusually high" unemployment rate. He has started to counteract this by selling the Six-and-Five restraint program as a job-creation measure. The new minister also has more cabinet duty than his predecessor, Allan Rock. And his consultations are being time from powerful groups that feel slighted by the relative MacRae. "On broad principles he's the same as MacRae," says a fellow minister. "But he's a helluva lot more dynamic, hands-on, on top of it. He has the complete trust of Trudeau and he knows the limits of government." That praise may simply mean that Trudeau has chosen a good man for an impossible job. ☐

Maclean's

Taking the bite out of FIRA

It was billed as a simple administrative shuffle that didn't differ too much from a normal bureaucracy. But when Robert Richardson officially became Governor General and minister of the embattled Foreign Investment Review Agency last month, a behind-the-scenes shift in the federal approach to foreign investment will be under way at a time when international and domestic economic relations seem to be in a state of flux. The policy shift follows a cabinet battle last spring between hard-liners, who wanted to suspend agency operations, and soft-liners, who fought to preserve it. Richardson is expected to get more emphasis on the agency's role in foreign capital. The visible public servant at the top will attempt to show FIRA on a fine line between the roles of watchdog and welcome wagon.

This balancing act will be a marked contrast to Howarth, who has been blamed for throwing the agency into ever-elating conflict with the business community. Friends say that Howarth felt betrayed at FIRA because he was struggling to administer a policy that the government was subtly sabotaging. Says Howarth: "You get a lot of abuse and criticism and very little choice."

Richardson was selected by Privy Council Clerk Michael Pithfield, a longtime fan of Howarth's who, nonetheless, recognized the need to repair the damage to relations with the business community. FIRA's nominal boss—Industry Minister Herb Gray—was not consulted in the decision. Indeed, Richardson reportedly has received an official assurance that Gray will not be allowed to temper extensively with FIRA's recommendations—a constant problem for Howarth, who often had to shoulder industry outrage about delays that were caused by cabinet after his decisions.

Richardson was raised on an Ottawa Valley farm and he earned his master's degree in economics at the "advanced" age of 36 while working for the trade department in Sydney, Australia. He has been deputy secretary at the Treasury Board since 1977. Seven years ago he and his wife, Irene, inherited a business that has been producing and retailing reproductions of early Canadian furniture. "I found out that it is not easy to run a private business," says Richardson. "My gut reaction now is that most government regulations are unnecessary—it's the perception of it that requires reasonable judgment."

Richardson's philosophy reflects the changing government attitude toward foreign investment. To combat the pro-

valing anti-FIRA mood, Richardson will have to reverse a tide of animosity but publicly make it only partially de-escalated. Although FIRA is routinely criticized for its capricious red tape, Ottawa feels that some of the problems have been solved by changes announced in the June budget and by the addition of 11 FIRA employees. The budget changes enable about 35 per cent of all FIRA reviews to be done with a "short" form, instead of the complicated "standard" form, in an average of 21 days, as com-



Richardson: His need for Kenney capital

pared to as many as 90 for most of the more complicated cases. The statistics tell a story of increased efficiency. In September, 1985, FIRA had a backlog of 436 cases. The current lag is 130.

FIRA's image problems also stem from several dramatic rulings that have left the impression that the agency is insensitive, when it was called, in fact, that pulled the strings. This fall, J.B. Lippincott of Canada will close because FIRA would not allow the U.S. purchaser of its U.S. patent to buy the Toronto firm. And FIRA did not even consider—until it was too late—the loss of 12 jobs. Last week, after months of unfavorable publicity, the agency belatedly

managed to ensure that the jobs will be preserved as part of another foreign acquisition package.

Still, FIRA has to shoulder a share of the blame for its problems. Its dealings with the Montreal firm Imasco Ltd. epitomize the kind of rigidity that Richardson will have to overcome in order to placate businessmen. Last year, for example, Gray—the man who takes FIRA's recommendations to cabinet—wanted to issue an Imasco request to buy the Loto 6600 Co. of Montreal. The rest of the powerful priorities and passing cabinet committee was again—delays would mean job losses. But Gray would not back down until the others overruled him after an hour of heated debate. Meanwhile, Imasco had applied in December, 1980—at the invitation of Gray—for a FIRA ruling that would free the company from foreign law. Last month Gray finally refused, and Imasco warned that Canada may lose millions of investment dollars as a result. The bottom line appears to be that most senior ministers and bureaucrats backed Imasco's drive for corporate citizenship. But since the ruling was left solely in the hands of the minister, even these powerful Ottawa elites could not convince Gray to amend the law as the regulations.

Despite the current pressure to dismantle FIRA, most businessmen argue that the agency merely requires an overhaul. Andrew Kleinman, president of the Investment Dealers Association of Canada, argues, "It's absolutely essential that Canada should have some way of looking at takeovers and foreign investments." But he adds that "the current system is simply too laborious." Some critics say, however, that FIRA has become a haven for shuffling and dealing by legal hotshots beyond the scrutiny of Parliament. Richard Schultz of the Centre for the Study of Regulated Industries at McGill University points out that FIRA rulings are actually made by cabinet. "It's the best of all possible worlds for the politicians," says Schultz, "since it allows them to tie the decision and yet cover themselves because they don't have to make the rules."

Legislating FIRA rules is not as the Liberals' agenda—and some businessmen argue that such a code could mean greater rigidity. While Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau has maintained that he will not disturb FIRA, "We would be selling the birthright of our children"—the Liberals have been moving away from their 1980 campaign pledge to beef up the agency. The Richardson appointment may be the final signal that, with minimal interference, Ottawa has renounced yet another major policy reversal.

—MARY JENNINGS in Ottawa

BRITISH COLUMBIA

The grisly conclusion to a summer mystery

In Westbank, B.C., across Cootanawa from Kelowna, a community in a small town was the scene of the grisly news of the suspected murders of their well-known and popular neighbors during a camping holiday in the B.C. Interior. But the discovery, of an ill-fated and unrecognizable bodies provided few answers to the seven-week disappearance of Robert Johnson, 34, his wife, Jacqueline, 40, daughters Janet, 13, and Karen, 11, and Jacqueline's Part Coquette parents, George and Edith Bentley. As police redoubled their attempts to find out how, why, where and when the six were killed, a crisis in Canada's history went out last week for three other missing campers from British Columbia—a province still recovering from the Clifford Olson murders of last year and now anxiety about 10 murders in the past six weeks. Even more troubling for British Columbians, most of them who occurred in the bush, where hikers in a rainy season passed through mountains and bogs.

In New Westminster a "mutilated scientific examination" of the six bodies, presumed to be the Johnsons and Bentleys but which might never be positively identified, began at the Royal Columbian Hospital. The bodies were moved to New Westminster after the examination and buried 1979 Plymouth owned by the Johnsons was found on Sept. 13. The discovery, some four days after a missing car search for the families had been called off. The car had been pushed 500 m off a dead-end bush road in Wells Gray Provincial Park, just north of Kamloops, where the families had planned to meet at the beginning of August. So far, bullet fragments have been recovered from an unidentified skull, leading police to believe that the victims died before the car was torched, possibly, with napalm explosive gas. Searches have also found a number of 22 calibre shell casing marks. Police across Canada are now investigating reported sightings of the Bentleys' still-missing red-and-silver Ford pickup and ranger. Last week, in an officers said they were still looking for a car truck with B.C. license plates and its occupants, two French-speaking men in their 30s who were reported to be in North Battleford, Sask., early

this month and later in Saskatoon, Sask., and at other points on the highway to Winnipeg.

As the investigation continues, questions about police procedure have started to surface. The main concern was about the delay in the discovery of the car in Wells Gray park. Kent Krack, 35, an Abbotsford butcher who was packing berries in the park in late August, saw the burned-out car on Aug. 22, as did two horseback riders. The riders agreed to report the location of the car

off by the Abbotsford detachment. Having become aware of a berry picker's sighting of the car and passengers, the 10th finally tracked down the Abbotsford report of Krack's call, contacted him, and he directed the force to the charred hulk. A number of contacts between the detachment was checked in the days after the discovery. As his reason of the police, B.C. Attorney General Allan Williams said last week that an inquiry into the delay in dealing with Krack's report would



The Johnson family's burned-out Plymouth. The last thing you'd expect on a camping trip

to police. Instead, this passed the word to yet another invisible who, on the 10th, did not report the find until Sept. 9. Because the directions were garbled, the search parties found nothing. On Sept. 2 Krack also showed police, after hearing continuing stories about the vanished families, but he was brushed

Search of missing campers: could be Winnipeg?



be conducted and a full review of the communications procedures between detachments would be undertaken. "It is my view that this [incident] are entitled to have all the information taken accurately and that it is the police's responsibility to transmit [it] if it is appropriate to some other unit," Williams said.

In the meantime, B.C. residents have grown angry and wary of their wilderness. Says Andrew Gray, principal of Westbank Elementary School where the Johnson girls were top students: "That somebody would murder a whole family is the last thing you would expect on a camping trip. How would you guard against that?" he asks. "Some campers have always had a rifle because of the bears." Now, also, guns will be viewed increasingly as protection against bizarre strangers in the bush—people who a normally would have been invited into camp for coffee.

—S. FANNE ZWARGEN in Calgary, with Alex from Malvern in Vancouver.



Point Lepreau site near Saint John: troubling questions, but a desire to try again

NEW BRUNSWICK

An uneasy nuclear debut

New Brunswick's Point Lepreau power plant is Atlantic Canada's first nuclear generating station but it will likely not be the last. Despite start-up glitches and a series of splits, the stage is set for a second nuclear plant on the rocky promontory that juts into the Bay of Fundy, about 40 km west of Saint John. Still, the region's belated entry into the nuclear age has been extremely costly and trying. The latest reminder was the split last week of 15 drums of radioactive heavy water as the 650 megawatt reactor was being tested as a prelude to full operation later this year.

The spill of heavy water, used as a coolant, was the fourth since July. Three of the spills were caused by equipment problems, and the fourth occurred when a worker prematurely opened a valve. The New Brunswick Electric Power Commission, the government utility that operates Lepreau, asserts that all the spills were minor and that they were routinely topped up by maintenance personnel. Nonetheless, the public uproar about the cost of Lepreau is such that the split is resoundingly commanded headlines.

The original cost estimate in 1974 was \$466 million, but a year later the price tag climbed to \$666 million after construction began. The plant's final bill is expected to be about \$1.3 billion. The project was dubbed a "debacle" and it presented the Liberal Opposition in the

New Brunswick legislature with an angry target for broadsides at Premier Richard Hatfield's Progressive Conservative government—both new municipalities in the Oct. 12 election. It was not by accident that Hatfield wanted out. Lepreau was completed and began its incremental climb toward full power before his end to the polls. Already in the quiet campaign, Lepreau has come in for frequent but muted mention.

For its part, N.B. Power points out

There is concern about Lepreau's fourth spill since July, but, with jobs in the offing, a second plant is planned

that it brought the plant on a year faster than was the case with Quebec's Gravelly II nuclear unit at Trois-Rivières. The Quebec plant also experienced dramatic cost escalations—from a first estimate of \$285 million to a projected price of \$1.36 billion at the end of this year. N.B. Power claims that of 32 nuclear plants coming on line this year and next in North America, the cost overrun at Lepreau is the sixth lowest. A big jump is seen in "hard to swallow," cautions N.B. Power's Terrence Thompson, "but it's the reality."

For many New Brunswickers the importance of the megaproject has been the 2,000 to 3,000 construction jobs, as well as the credit it has, in an economy that has a 16-per-cent unemployment rate. Citizens are concerned that N.B. Power plans to sell more than half of Lepreau's 630 megawatts to U.S. customers between now and 1996. The utility has already contracted with the Massachusetts Municipal Wholesale Electric Company (for 100 megawatts), Boston Edison (200 megawatts) and the City of Boston (100 megawatts).

Ontario's Nuclear Energy Board last year refused N.B. Power's application to export an additional 128 megawatts to the United States. The action was taken partly because it appeared that Canadian taxpayers would foot the bill—through oil subsidy payments—for electricity from nuclear thermal plants, while cheaper nuclear power was sent out of the country. Set with the oil subsidy dropping and additional firm contracts with U.S. customers in the offing, the rift has agreed to reconsider N.B. Power's application.

Some critics still are not happy with the prospect of Canada assuming the nuclear risks while the United States gets the electricity. But to N.B. Power the U.S. contracts amount to "risk coverage"—a firm commitment. Even U.S. customers to pay more than half of Lepreau's annual carrying costs of \$200 million during the next nine years, regardless of the plant's performance.

Meanwhile, the momenta is building for a second Lepreau nuclear unit. Although N.B. Power's projected annual growth in electrical demand is a modest 3.7 per cent over the decade, the company says it will need additional generating capacity by 1995. As a result, this fall agents will be brokering the New England deal for customers to take surplus power from Lepreau 2 until it is needed back home. The provincial government, in turn, is in the midst of negotiations with unions about a project agreement that would increase labor productivity and avoid costly strikes.

On the campaign trail, provincial Liberal Leader Douglas Young has called Point Lepreau "the most ridiculous undertaking in New Brunswick history." He said that if he forms a government, he would entertain the possibility of a second plant only if a sweetheart financing arrangement could be reached with Ottawa or other outside sources. The splurge of the National Energy Program last summer presented support for Lepreau 3—and, in the election campaign, the newly elected government of New Brunswick likely will insist that Ottawa deliver.

—DAVID POLSTER in Fredericton.

ONTARIO

The Davis crony and the sisters

Sally Barnes, 46-year-old former press aide to Premier William Davis, began her new job as head of the Ontario Status of Women Council this week with a major image problem. She has to convince Ontario's anti-feminist and assorted skeptics that she will be more than a "house feminist."

An industrious and well-lit former newspaper reporter, Barnes is trusted in the eyes of some critics by her close seven-year association with Davis and her identically slim familiarity with women's issues. "I've never been a professional feminist and I wouldn't want to be one," she says. But while she is not at the top of the issues, she contends that she knows how to work the system for more, reasonable changes. "With economic conditions the way they are, this isn't the time for dreamers," says Barnes. "And the time for staidness is gone. I'm going to have to rely on irrational arguments to win my case."

Barnes' "moderate, realistic" approach has already raised her trouble with Ontario's strong feminist network. Last week, for instance, she said that fighting for equal pay for work of equal value would be a "waste of breath" because of the current economic climate. Unfortunately for her it has also become the hottest feminist issue in his Queen's Park in some time. The furor started a month ago when provincial Labour Minister Russell Ramsey said that it is a failure for women to press for equal-pay legislation as long as the recession continues Barnes's reluctance

Barnes: no time for dreamers



to join the feminist protest against Ramsey's stand had led to charges that she is simply protecting her former boss, from political embarrassment. Says Jean Wood, former president of the feminist umbrella organization, the National Action Committee: "It may be a good thing she has the premier's ear, but it won't be argued if the only thing she whispers in it is sweet feelings."

For her part, Barnes has been hurt by the almost universal criticism that greeted her appointment, "particularly since none of these people have ever met me." She is annoyed at suggestions that

the part-time job—at \$105 a day—is a rich snore. "The Senate, it isn't." In fact, all summer she related intimacies that she takes the job, partly because she did not know if she could afford the drop in her \$40,000 salary.

Barnes says her critics will soon find out that she is "no pushover. I'm not the type to sit at a meeting and nod." But will William Davis—the part-time boss—pussy called Terry who she left the press office—and his colleagues bow? "I think I will know by the end of six months how seriously they take me," says Barnes. —STAN REID in Toronto

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The massacre in Lebanon



Appl'd meeting with Pope John Paul II left, Bashir Gemayel, the assassination came just as Lebanon seemed to be recovering

The rumors, dark and menacing, multiplied by the hour. Gradually, diplomats and others based in battle-scarred Beirut became convinced that a tragedy of some kind was taking place in the Palestinian refugee camps in the western sector, overrun by Israeli troops last week. Their initial attempts to verify their suspicions at the Salim and Shatila camps late last week were frustrated when they were turned away by Lebanese militiamen surrounding the sites. Then the rumors were dropped, and the terrifying truth emerged. A massacre of major proportions had been carried out deliberately, savagely and mercilessly.

Scores of bloodied bodies, some piled together, others strewn where they had been murdered, lay along walls in the camps' narrow streets in some areas hardly protruded from the rubble of buildings, and bulldozer tracks indicated that last attempts had been made to cover the bodies. The news commentators on the scene called it a massacre of "hanging proportions." And estimates of the numbers killed ranged from 100 to 1,000. Between Thursday night and early last Saturday morning—when Israeli soldiers finally intervened to stop the bloodbath—

identified gunmen from one or more of Lebanon's many political or parasilitary elements had brutally murdered whole families of Palestinians, old men, women and children.

A "hardened" President Ronald Reagan and leaders from all over the world condemned the killing and voiced their revulsion. Reagan recalled that Israel had exploded its takeover of the city last week with the argument that the action would prevent "the kind of tragedy that has now occurred," and he called for an immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces to their earlier positions. The president added that the United States also expects Jerusalem to begin "serious negotiations" to secure the "earliest possible disengagement" of its forces from Beirut and to help ensure an overall agreement as a framework for an early pullout of all foreign forces from Lebanon.

At the same time, France and Italy joined the United States in calling for the immediate dispatch of UN observers to the "area of human suffering." That recommendation dripped with irony. The three countries' troops oversee the UN withdrawal last month. If they had not been taken out of Lebanon at Washington's insistence, before the

end of their 30-day tour, the murders might have been prevented.

The massacre took place at the end of a week of violence which began with the assassination of Lebanese president-elect Bashir Gemayel. Echoes of the 10 kg bomb blast that killed him had hardly died before Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon—owing to "elementary" 2,000 Palestinian guerrillas who, he claimed, remained in the city—launched his troops into Lebanese-occupied areas of West Beirut. And he declared that the Israelis will leave only after the Lebanese army "purifies the area where the Palestinians are."

As the massacre was taking place, Israeli troops were carrying out a massive sweep in other areas of West Beirut, Lebanese police reported that hundreds of Muslim residents were herded at gunpoint into public squares and onto sidewalks while Israeli troops searched their homes and seized guns and money. More than 1,800 people were arrested, but there was no indication of where they were being taken. At the same time, there were claims that Israeli troops had fired at demonstrators who were calling for the Lebanese army to take over the government. One person was reported killed.

The violence in Beirut had tragic repercussions outside the city. In Paris a bomb blast seriously wounded an Israeli diplomat and two relatives last Friday. About 40 others, including a number of schoolchildren, received less severe injuries. A day later in Brussels, a lone gunman sprayed a crowd outside a synagogue with machine-gun fire, wounding four people before escaping in a red Porsche.

Tragically, the stunning attacks took place just as Lebanon seemed to be slowly recovering from the upheaval of last summer's Israeli invasion. The election of Gemayel as president ushered in a period of domestic calm. While there were no illusions about the depth of the bitterness between Christians and Muslims—as well as between different factions within each religious group—a consensus seemed to have been developing among the various factions that, above all, the country must be freed of foreign armies—Israeli, Syrian and Palestinian. In the southern city of Sidon the most common slogan on public walls recently has been "NO TO THE LEBALESE ARMY." And while Gemayel was known to be a ruthless, brutal leader, there were signs of a willingness to seek compromises instead of confrontation. Three days before his death Gemayel met with Shab Shal, a leading Muslim figure and former prime minister. The Phalangist leader is believed to have agreed to accept a series of strong Muslim demands. There were also indications of a rapprochement between Gemayel and some of his better Christian rivals.

Gemayel's death on Sept. 14 seemed to signal an end to all hopes of a respite of internal strife. And, indeed, at week's end no group had claimed responsibility for the logistical feat of planting the bomb inside the heavily guarded Phalangist headquarters. But there was speculation that it was done by someone inside the building. The bomb is reported to have been placed on the floor above Gemayel's office, directly over his desk. Italian radio reports claimed Pierre Gemayel, Bashir's father and founder of the Phalangist movement, had accused the head of killing his son. And Saadun Haddad-Daher, Lebanese national general in New York City, told Madison "that he believed the murder was carried out by foreign forces because they would benefit most from such an action. 'There are a lot of people who would gain from having Lebanon still in upheaval,'" he said. "It gives foreign troops an excuse to remain there."

Within hours of the assassination Israeli troops moved into West Beirut, assuming Israeli already control collections with Washington even further. Angered by the Israeli thrust, Secre-

tary of State George Shultz sent for Israel's ambassador to Washington, Moshe Arens, and told him that the invasion violated the terms of the Aug. 20 agreement for the evacuation of the PLO.

When Israeli troops showed no signs of leaving West Beirut, the Reagan administration decided to add heft to its objections by speaking out publicly. Officials at both the White House and the state department said that the United States wanted the Israeli forces to leave the city. "There is no justification, in our view, for Israel's continued military presence," said White House deputy press secretary Larry Spindler. And, in unusually harsh language, state depart-

A week of violence that started with the assassination of president-elect Gemayel ended in a massacre

ment spokesman John Hughes accused Israel of violating the United States' agreement with previous assurances that it would not advance further.

Israel denied that it ever gave a pledge that its troops would not enter Beirut since the PLO forces had been withdrawn. Arens said on Saturday that the Reagan administration had agreed that some preventive actions were needed to assure peace in Lebanon. "I think there is an understanding [between the United States and Israel] that precautionary measures were needed," he declared. "There is a difference of opinion as to the extent of the pre-

cautionary measures that should be taken."

Aren's statement appeared to run counter to Israel's initial insistence that it entered the Lebanese capital only to prevent "violence, bloodshed and anarchy" following Gemayel's death. But both the Lebanese government and the Reagan administration indicated that they were not convinced. Even in besieged capital, Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan accused the Israelis of using Gemayel's death as a pretext for a latest drive. At week's end the United States took the highly unusual step of joining other members of the UN Security Council in calling for Israel's withdrawal.

In the UN, Lebanese Ambassador Ghassan Tueni denounced Israel's explanations for its action as "inhuman, intolerable and revolting." Tueni accused Jerusalem of fomenting international law and he raised the possibility that Israel had invaded Beirut with the intention of disrupting the constitutional process of selecting a successor to Gemayel. For its part, the U.S. government also expressed skepticism about Israel's stated motive of simply preserving stability. Concerning Jerusalem's insistence that only its troops could enforce peace in West Beirut, Spindler said the Lebanese army had agreed to be making headway in its efforts to police its own territory.

As Israel continued to expand its reach over Beirut, world attention was again deflected from the issue of creating a Palestinian homeland, just as international support seemed to be growing. However, the UN sound important gains as the political rift, ignoring Israeli protests that the encounter was "revolving," Pope John

Many Palestinians in a West Beirut camp: families, old men, women and children



Paul II met with two Chairman Yasser Arafat, and the two men posed together for photographers afterward. Arafat also met with Hussein Pundak, Sandro Perini and Flaminio Piccoli, secretary-general of the conservative and influential Christian Democratic Party. There were also indications last week that support is growing for Reagan's plan to assist Palestinian legitimate rights to a homeland despite the fierce objections of Israel. Jewish King Hassan, for one, spoke positively of the Reagan proposal.

But it was the massacre that monopolized world attention at week's end. Reports from survivors made it clear that the brutal killings were carried out by Lebanese Christian militiamen. What was not certain, however, was which militiamen—those of Maj. Had-

sad survivors stated that Israeli troops had surrounded the camp and refused to allow anyone to leave while the militiamen were carrying out their violent operation. Not only that, but those interviewed said that the Israelis fired flames to enable the militiamen to see what they were doing. At no time did Israeli troops intervene to stop the killing, according to the survivors quoted by the U.S. senior state department spokesman, asked whether Washington believed that the Israelis had acquiesced in the massacre, replied, "I think at this point it is probably an incorrect inference."

As the debate continued and diplomats respected the carnage in the camp, the Lebanese were left to grieve and reflect on the damage done to the cause of national reconciliation. A new



Israel forces overrunning West Beirut; causing casualties with Washington further

did or of the Palestinians—were involved. But a war similar Israeli-supplied uniforms.

There was still more speculation about what, if any, role Israeli forces had played while the 20-hour struggle was under way. There were no reports of direct involvement by Israeli soldiers. And in Jerusalem a senior Israeli military official claimed on Saturday that Jerusalem's forces had intervened when they became alarmed at Palestinian reports that militiamen were retreating in heavy fighting in Shatila. The Palestinians were persuaded to regroup near Beirut International Airport. "It seems our intervention was too late. But if we had not stepped in, the disaster would have been very much greater."

However, a dramatically different version of the Israeli role was provided in a CBS television report. The network

set of presidential elections had been scheduled for the week with Bushy Gagey's brother Amr, a more moderate figure and one more sympathetic to the business community, strongly favored. But in the immediate aftermath of the massacre it was not certain that the vote would be held.

For their part, the Israelis, as they celebrated the Jewish New Year, could recall a statement in the Knesset last week by Yassef Sadeh, an opposition member. Sadeh compared Israel's recent actions to those of a man seeking room to a neighbor with "each step leading him deeper and deeper into the neighbor's house." The next steps that Israel takes may now be to decide for the future of the Middle East.

Staff Writers in Beirut: William Lowther and Michael Posner in Washington, Eric Schar in Jerusalem and Robin Wright in Beirut

PHILIPPINES

Reagan salutes an anxious ally

It was the question that official Washington had waited for. Answered by reports from Manila, Filipino President Ferdinand Marcos was dying of a lingering disease. Was this true, and did Marcos intend to name his wife, Imelda, to succeed him? The president stood before the National Press Club audience and laughed. "Does anyone want to try me in the ring? That's ridiculous."

The results of last week's state visit—his first official trip to Washington in 16 years—made clear that the shrewd Filipino leader has at least lost none of his astute political acuity. With a minimum of risky reminders about his government's spotty human rights performance, Marcos left Washington with most of what he sought: agreement to begin renegotiations next April of the pact granting the United States military facilities in the Philippines, a U.S. pledge to help modernize his country's armed forces, and \$204.5 million (U.S.) in loan guarantees for financing a new nuclear power plant.

But, like most state occasions, the Marcos visit—complete with a vast outpouring of munitions, friends, relatives and security personnel—was as important for its symbolism as for its substance. Scored with full military honors on the White House steps lawn, in a telecast beamed live to a prime-time Manila audience, the Marcos regime was effectively awarded the stamp of U.S. legitimacy. It was for that singular blessing that he craved. All the rest was window dressing.

Marcos clearly needed President Ronald Reagan's word of approval. Although martial law (imposed in 1972) was formally lifted last year, his regime remains under attack from elements of organized labor, the church, rebel Moslems and the Communist Party's New People's Army. Not only that, but the shoring up of world commodity prices, caused by high interest rates, has seriously weakened the Filipino economy. The nation of 50 million already owes more than \$10 billion to the world's bankers. But, unlike other developing countries with mounting deficits, the Philippines lacks the industrial base or the natural resources that give international money markets confidence in its ability to repay. Admits one Western observer: "When you talk to foreign banks here, the bottom line is their belief that the United States is not going to stand by and let the country collapse."

At the same time, Marcos' human rights record remains blighted. On the eve of his Washington trip, Amnesty International charged that 1,000 Filipinos were being detained for political reasons. Last month, citing a compass of planned beatings and assassinations, Marcos jailed three leftist labor leaders and arrested dozens of alleged subversives. Some 1,000 secret police were sent into the streets with authority to shoot suspected criminals on sight. Forty-seven people were reported killed before Marcos ordered the lawyers to exchange placards for criticism and kill only when necessary.

Publicly, Marcos dismissed the reports of human rights violations as widely exaggerated. Amnesty International, he told the press club last week, had not even visited the Philippines before issuing its report. But U.S. officials say privately that the Philippines' leader admits that Filipino security forces are guilty of abuses. But the subject of human rights was apparently not raised in Oval Office conversations. An administration spokesman noted that the lifting of martial law had also brought the restoration of press freedoms and of the right of habeas corpus. And Reagan himself insisted to the world's assembled press that the Philippines had made "great progress." "Does Marcos have a way to go yet?" shied a reporter. Marcos broke into one of his familiar, helpless smiles. "We all do," he said.

That approach was consistent with the Reagan philosophy on human rights: "We will not stand by and see our pressure work better than peace."

Philippine democratizing against U.S. naval bases, stronger human rights policy



Reagan greeting Marcos at the White House; a blighted record of human rights

condemnation. At any rate, in Manila's case, strategic issues clearly take priority. Of those, the fate of the Clark Air Force Base and the Subic Bay Naval Base are the most pressing. The current lease agreement, which expires in 1993, gives the Philippines \$100 million annually in military and economic credits. Marcos will want to raise the rent substantially for the 1990-99 contract, although he denied that he will seek a \$2-billion package price—a figure that has been widely rumored. Whatever the final rent, Washington is not in a position to reneg. After the debacle in Vietnam,

the Philippine bases constitute its only remaining foothold in the western Pacific. Without them, as an air force commander noted recently, "It becomes the Soviets' lake, their sea lanes. The Japanese and Koreans would be outflanked from their sources of energy."

For the United States, the bases would also serve as vital staging and refueling areas in a Middle East crisis. However, a command post used after Marcos' visit last March to Saudi Arabia suggests that the Filipino strong man might bar access to Clark and Subic Bay in the event of a Middle East war. That vaguely worded statement recognized the right of Middle Eastern countries to determine their security without interference from outside forces.

Other central questions for American policy planners in Marcos' own future. At 60, and after spending time in hospital for treatment of pneumonia, the president has begun to lay plans for his succession. Last month he named Imelda to the vacant executive committee, which would temporarily assume control if his absence until a new president can be selected. However, diplomats in Manila doubt that the first lady—though she is nicknamed—would be able to keep the Marcos coalition together. She has one senior Western official. "The First Lady will probably hold on for a while, but then the army or someone with the army's backing will take over." No one in Washington last week was prepared to forecast what the Philippines that might have for the Americans—or for the Filipino.

—MICHAEL POSNER in Washington, with Paul Queen-Judge in Manila.

The 'Siberian candidate' caper

Like the late Lee Harvey Oswald, Mehmet Ali Agca, the young Turk now waiting away a life sentence for his May 1981 attempt to kill Pope John Paul II, is the stuff of conspiracy theories' dreams. Agca was already a fugitive, the confessed and convicted killer of a prominent Turkish newspaper editor, when he managed to get within range of the pontiff in St. Peter's Square. He had escaped 18 months earlier—with a little help from some high-ranking military friends—from the sort of impenetrable Turkish prison made notorious in the film *Multipass Ekizim*. Using aliases and false passports and

best-seller *The Terror Network: The Secret War of International Terrorism*. This week the *Kiss* theory was due for airing in a new-hour NBC-TV White Paper entitled *The Man Who Shot the Pope*. "A Soviet connection," says the chief diplomatic correspondent, Marvin Kuhl, reported, "is strongly suggested, but it cannot be proved... responsibility is always carefully laundered."

Unfortunately, the NBC script itself seems laundered. For one thing, the evidence linking Agca to the Kremlin is very circumstantial indeed. For another, the theme that Agca was acting as a Soviet dope is presented with no dis-

to Bulgaria after his jailbreak, he was denied position to be recruited. As a result, Kuhl says, "No foreigner, especially a known Turkish terrorist on the list, could spend seven weeks in the best hotels in Sofia without the knowledge and approval of the Bulgarian secret service." Could the Bulgarian security service have been involved without the approval of the KGB? "Only if you believe in fairy tales," says Kuhl.

Once Agca is presented to have been recruited by the Turkish gangsters, who conspired with the Bulgarian cops playing possum to Soviet spy masters, the story remains equally as weak. The dangers inherent in even attempting the murder of John Paul, however, seem far greater than any possible gains. And the Vatican itself last week further eroded the credibility of such a account by denying



Last year's assassination attempt on the Pope (left), Agca. The Soviets, according to NBC, found the contact tool

spending freely, Agca had chafed police in at least 10 countries. In Turkey he had been closely associated with the nationalist right, especially with a ruthless paramilitary gang known as the Grey Wolves. But Agca also had contacts on the violent left and confessed to having trained at Palestinian camps in Syria. In the film of the attack on John Paul, new reveals that Agca was accompanied by at least one accomplice.

Out of that confusion, tantalizing story, a new and startling theme is being distilled. Agca, the theory goes, was acting—perhaps without knowing it—as an agent of the Soviet KGB. In sum? To extinguish the spiritual beacon of Poland's Solidarity trade union, disorient a NATO ally, and sow hostility between pious Christians and Muslims—all with a single stroke of the trigger.

The "Siberian candidate" theory was first aired in *Time* magazine last year by Clive Stafford, the Rome-based American author of the controversial 1982

settling views. The allegations of a KGB role are subtly made by juxtaposing already known and newly discovered facts with speculation about turning points in Agca's brief terrorist career and about Moscow's possible motives for employing him—at the risk of alienating the world's 800 million Roman Catholics. At every crucial point, the leap from fact to implication was based on testimony from anonymous Western intelligence sources.

The core of the Sterling-Kuhl theory is that the Kremlin was deeply threatened by John Paul's magnetic appeal to his millions of countrymen. The White Paper asserts, for example, that "Soviet news has discovered" that John Paul sent a handwritten note to Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev warning that he would resign the papacy and return home to lead resistance if the Soviets in Afghanistan were not withdrawn. In *Agca*, NBC argues, the Soviets found the perfect tool. And when he fled

that the Pope sent any letter to himself or that the Vatican knew of a link between Agca and the KGB.

Mehmet Ali Agca, after all, was an unlikely recruit. He was a brutish killer who confessed in his earlier murder of Turkish TV. Such a man would be likely to heart out enough leads to recognize a real—not merely a hypothetical—size link. And his method of operating—close up in a crowded square—allowed almost no chance for escape. That alone feels dubious that the Soviets would have planned the operation. John Piro, author of *The Soviet KGB*, makes a recent study of CIA efforts to track Russian military power, writes, "No decision to try to kill the Pope could be taken by the Soviets below the level of the Politburo, and to believe that they would do so you would have to believe that the Russians were willing to risk a propaganda black eye bigger than 50 U-2's." That would, indeed, be a high-flying theory. ☐

BRITAIN

An election that satisfied nobody

As cool as breeze swept the Gower peninsula in Wales last week, bringing a shower to ground-level weatherers swaying up the late autumn sun on the beaches of the Severn estuary. It was a reminder of approaching fall and also of the dull facts of the recession, which has brought a record 16 per cent unemployment rate in the region of coal, mines and light industry.

However, the weather also brought a cold shock to Britain's Opposition Labour Party. In a by-election in the Gower constituency at week's end, Labour maintained its grip on the seat that it has held since 1945, but with a sharply reduced majority. In a poor turnout—only 65 per cent voted, compared with 80 per cent in the 1979 general election—Labour's Gareth Wardell secured only 17,066 votes, 1,568 fewer than his predecessor, Ebor Dames, whose death made the election necessary. But if Labour was let down, there was small comfort for its rivals, the fledgling Social Democratic Party and the governing Conservatives. The SDP edged past the Tories into second place, but no candidate, Gwyneth Jones, managed only 3,875 votes.

For Labour's struggling leader, Michael Foot, who is under pressure to step down, the result was a lake-wide vote of confidence. At least part of the high abstention rate was probably caused by Foot's failure to mount an effective opposition campaign based on Britain's current economic ills. For Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, her party's dismal showing was a warning that the Falklands Factor is no longer a handy antidote for voter disillusion. Tory candidate Trevor Llewellyn found his support cut almost in half.

The SDP, which mounted only lackluster performances in recent local and parliamentary elections, campaigned hard to Gower. It is about the only party with 2,000 volunteers and sent its party leaders at regular intervals. But even though spokesmen hailed the party's second-place showing as a triumph, most of the SDP's support came from dissatisfied Tory voters. The SDP candidate was a former Labour MP, but he received little support from his former colleagues. Whether, with enough money and manpower, the SDP can win a general election is now far from clear. Indeed, the warning to all British politicians is that in the current parlous climate a new trend is on the rise—total optimism toward all political parties.

—EDWARD DALL in London.

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Genscher (left) and Schmidt before their split: a profound disagreement over policy

WEST GERMANY

Schmidt clears the decks

Rarely had the West German parliament seen Helmut Schmidt so angry. In a packed chamber still meeting (initially of joint sessions) during the summer recess, the chancellor angrily assumed that members of his own cabinet finding had made it impossible for the left-liberal coalition to continue its 18-year reign. Castigating his departing Free Democratic (FDP) partners and lauding the conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU) opposition, Schmidt asked all parties to agree to an early general election.

The chancellor's announcement was widely anticipated. It followed a series of bitter public clashes between Schmidt and the two principal FDP members of his government—Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher, leader of the Free Democrats, and Economics Minister Otto von Lambsdorff—over the right policies to deal with West Germany's economic ills. The split was evident after the coalition's strong victory in the 1980 general election—and has deepened steadily since then.

But it was not certain that elections would follow as quickly as Schmidt would like. While the expulsion of the FDP left the chancellor's CDU to govern as a minority party, the opposition was undecided about Schmidt's offer of an early vote of confidence, opening the way to polling within 90 days.

That was not the only uncertainty surrounding the country's electoral future. The West German constitution allows the CDU the option of forming a coalition with the FDP after defeating the SPD in a parliamentary vote. And CDU leader Helmut Kohl appeared to

fence that course. But he and Genscher claimed that they would soon open negotiations to form a right-wing coalition. However, powerful forces within the CDU—and in the party's Bavarian counterpart, the Christian Social Union (CSU)—were pushing for an election.

The right had strong motives for agreeing to elections. The latest polls indicate that a CDU-CSU alliance could win 53 per cent of the votes if an election were held now, enough to give it an absolute majority in the Bundestag. Schmidt's SPD would be left with no more than 30 per cent. But observers say the polls, conducted before last week's political shock wave, may have been more a reflection of general voter discontent than an accurate election forecast. Because of Schmidt's popularity, they argue, the SPD could hope to do much better.

For that reason, the conservative forces were expected to await the outcome of potential elections in Hesse, scheduled for next Sunday, before deciding their electoral strategy. The SPD is not expected to do well in the local voting. But the real issue is likely to be the FDP, which may not even secure the 5 per cent of the votes necessary to win seats in the local legislature. It was widely felt that his party might suffer a similar humiliation as a national scale that made Genscher so eager to take up Kohl's offer of a partnership.

For Schmidt, the future looks especially bleak. To German voters, he is the right chancellor with the wrong policy. With or without an election, his personality is unlikely to carry enough weight to keep him in power after 18 years. West Germany now is looking for a change. —PATRIC LAMERS in Brussels

MONACO

Saying goodbye to a magic legend

She had never wanted an ordinary destiny. And, in the end, her death was a drama as inconspicuous as her life had been a fairy tale. On a day that dawned a superb blue Mediterranean blue, on a tortuous mountain road with a breathtaking lido-and-sea view over her realm, a microscopic clot of blood interrupted a latter-day process on a perfumed burgundy course. And in a blinding flash, her Rover 3500 hurtled into a 15-m ravine in a blaze of tragedy and sorrow that will only fuel her legend.

Last Saturday royalty, politicians, movie stars, her jet-set friends and 5,000 subjects gathered under black-bowed flags in Monte Carlo's St. Nicholas Cathedral. And the legend was put to rest in the glare of the TV lights and flashbulbs under which it had flourished for three decades. With a plot twist that none of her Hollywood scriptwriters would have dared spin, Grace Patricia Kelly, 52, the Philadelphia bricklayer's daughter, was interred among Europe's oldest royal family. The ceremony had all the pomp and splendor befitting Her Serene Highness, the Princess of Monaco, the Duchess of Valentinois, Marchioness of Raje and Countess Grimaldi.

In death, as in life, she was the symbol of the ultimate American success story. At 12 she chose the role of Cinderella in an aristocratic family theatrical and she never reversed from it. Plucked from the American Academy of Dramatic Arts and an understudied Broadway beginning by talent scouts,

Dance with Reality in 1950: Cinderella



The body of Princess Grace of Monaco's Grimaldi Prince: in death, as in life, a symbol of the ultimate American success story

she carved out an incredible place among the reigning stars. And she did it in a career that spanned only six years and 13 movies from *Forces Mores* (1951) to *High Society* (1956), her aptly named last film. It was Alfred Hitchcock, however, who best caught the sensuality shimmering beneath her cool beauty in their three films together—*Diary of a Mad Woman*, *To Catch a Thief*, and *Rear Window*. He called it "sexual elegance." Ironically, her only Academy Award came from playing the fading wife of an alcoholic sportsman Ring Lardner in *The Country Girl*.

She had just collected that prize when she was swept off as the chief draw of the 1960 Cannes Film Festival, where the pictorial weekly *Paris Match* came up with the publicity gimmick of "interview-

ing Hollywood's No. 2 box-office queen in the Riviera's reigning bachelor, the moonstruck Rainier of Grimaldi of Monaco. As if in some prophetic hint, the magazine's car had a small accident en route to Monte Carlo. But out of the hour-long encounter in the garden of the 18th-century pink palace grew a love story that seemed all the more incredible for being based on authentic emotion. As the tale unfolded dramatically years later, "I just fell in love, that's all."

When she married back into Monaco's Horwath Bay a year later aboard the U.S. liner *Constitution*, it was as Cinderella in the flesh. And after the visit to the altar that properly ends all fairy stories—here attracted the glittering society crowd of Europe and

America and 1,500 photographers—the gave the patina of her smiling beauty, good taste and connections to a 3-kilogram principality whose chief income derives from gambling and tax evasion. With a conservative's conflicting sense of duty, she also spent out her perfection with three gorgeous and necessary—twins to the Grimaldi line, Caroline, Albert, and Stephanie.

Through the years she would sway the often without regret and vented her artistry in harmless poetry reading and fashioning collages of dried flowers collected at the family's weekend retreat in Roc-Artel, above the rock of Monaco. She had spent the weekend there before she began her fatal drive home with her younger daughter, Stephanie, 17. The ensuing headline speculation about who was driving, whether the car failed mechanically, whether she had been given appropriate medical care and, later, whether the injured Princess Stephanie was, in fact, paralyzed, seemed scribbled by some grumpy, senseless realist who had strayed into the wrong plot line. To a watching world, Princess Grace had somehow seemed immune from such taints of commonplace horror. But in a way, with that tragedy, she achieved an immensity of another sort.

Once, years earlier in a rare moment of candor, she admitted how much she feared growing old. "I don't understand women of my age who insist it is a beautiful experience," she said. Last week a cerebral vascular incident on a hairpin turn of a mountain road snatched her in memory at 52, still in the full flower of her fragile golden beauty.

—MARY MCCONNELL in PARIS

The peace of last week's accident: a swirl of commonplace horror



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"J.C." Phillips
Chairman of the Board, Gulf Canada Limited

In 1981 about two cents of each dollar Gulf received in Canada were paid in dividends to shareholders. The remaining 98 cents were used to run the company in Canada.

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"J.C." Phillips, Gulf Canada's Chairman of the Board, comes from Melville, Ontario. He spent over-
saw with the R.C.A.P., studied how
at Osgoode Hall. Here he is shown
getting a running start on the day

cost about a billion dollars. \$332 million of this was paid to Gulf employees across Canada. From mainland staff to president and to chairman of the board, Gulf is run in Canada by Canadians. There are 11,000 people directly on the Gulf payroll (More than three times this number - in service stations, farm centres, independent agents and distributors, for instance - indirectly earn their living working with Gulf.) The rest of the billion went for an almost endless list of material and services.

2. Exploration

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Gulf Canada's exploration/seismic exploration area millions of dollars worth of steel manufactured in eastern Canada. Our spending spreads throughout the Canadian economy. We lease trucks, rent helicopters, maintain offices, warehouses and pipelines. We buy diamond drills, service station signs, furniture, wrapping paper, computers, explosives, typewriters, tests, gas pumps from companies across Canada. The ripple effects of Gulf Canada's spending benefit manufacturing and service industries from coast to coast, providing tens of thousands of jobs for Canadians.

\$277 million. Much of this went into frontier exploration in the Arctic Islands, wells in the Beaufort Sea, drilling oil Canada's east coast, including the promising Hibernian area off the coast of Newfoundland.

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\$318 million, meant \$551 million was sent out of the country to buy these crude oil imports.

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4. Taxes

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COVER

Labor's Big Retreat

By Linda Diebel

For union workers on the line at the General Motors plant in Oshawa, Ont., had been wearing buttons instructing their union negotiators to stop discussions. Still, there was a collective sigh of relief when United Auto Workers Canadian Director Robert White announced a tentative agreement with the company last week, even though the pact fell far short of that desired. Among the UAW rank and file, workers such as Don Matheson, a 36-year-old maintenance worker with 14 years' seniority, were understandably disappointed with a settlement that cost them as much as nine days in annual paid leave. But they could live with it, short-termers. Matheson and his wife, Marion, a line worker with six years at GM, realized that the alternative was 960 a week in strike pay. Real Matheson simply: "We have a house, a car and two kids. I can put up with what we are

being offered. I guess I am happy just to go on working."

Not since the union organizing drives in the early 1980s has labor been pushed so forcefully to the wall as felt so beleaguered. Unemployment is at a post-Depression high of 12.2 percent, with at least 1.5 million Canadians out of work. Organized labor's ranks have been thinned by layoffs and closures, and what remaining power workers still possess has been gnawed by inflation and interest rates. Those pressures—as well as government and corporate intransigence—have union leaders at the bargaining table, forcing them to behave pragmatically and hoping to fight another day. The UAW's White gave up the hard-won right to paid days off for his membership grudgingly but knows the alternative was a strike. "There's not only a question on anybody who is in collective bargaining today," he says. "But there's a question on anybody who has a collective agreement. The labor movement is under intense pressure"

Jean-Claude Parrot, leader of the militant Canadian Union of Postal Workers and a Canadian Labour Congress vice-president, is self-spoken in his shifting assessment. "The unions are fighting, but the fight is tough, very tough, and the odds are all against us. On the other side is strong; they have everything on their side."

Increasingly, in a time of layoffs, cutbacks, shutdowns and freezes, that attitude reflects the fears of working people across Canada. In Port Alberni, B.C., where only a few hundred men from a regular work force of 4,000 had work last week, millaire workers anguish over

berant as they sing: "When the union's suppression through the workers' blood shall run, there'll be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun. But if there's some labor nuclei are burnt out, Canadian unions will have to use all their muscle just to survive in the icy climate of recession."

They are not alone. Unions in Europe, Britain and the United States are reeling under the combined blows of mass unemployment, intense international competition for markets, and the extinction of highly unionized industries that had been traditional protectors for wages and benefits. This week Brit-

ish unions designated Wednesday as a Day of Action, when workers were to leave their jobs in support of health service employees, who are locked in a dispute with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government. And a successful display of solidarity was vital. After an abortive end strike in June British socialism is floundering badly.



Auto workers on the job; A.C. government workers at strategy meeting. "The fight is tough, the odds are against us"

ish unions designated Wednesday as a Day of Action, when workers were to leave their jobs in support of health service employees, who are locked in a dispute with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government. And a successful display of solidarity was vital. After an abortive end strike in June British socialism is floundering badly.

In France, Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union, widespread unemployment has depleted union resources, the 1980s to rally his army of coal miners against pay cuts—sounded like a sick joke as unions began to settle for less just to stay alive.

It took longer for the government to bend down on organized labor in Canada, but the campaign began with the June 28 federal budget. After that, labor, while not necessarily optimistic, was still on the offensive. Even at the annual CIO convention in Winnipeg on May 24 the delegates (representing 2.3 million workers) were determined to

take any steps needed—"up to and including a general strike"—to prevent Ottawa from imposing wage controls. "Consider the turtle. It makes no progress until he sticks his neck out," declared the CIO's dagger president, Dennis McDermott. "We have our necks out, and I guess I am on the tip of it."

Just a few weeks later, then Finance Minister Allan Rock broke the battle lines by announcing that the government had torn up the contracts of 500,000 public servants and Crown corporation employees. In the matter of a 30-and-five percent program, there would be a mandatory six-per-cent ceiling on wage and salary increases over the first year and five per cent the next. The right to strike (once considered a cornerstone of democracy) would be removed.

Overnight, the public sector was isolated from the private sector unions, singled out by the federal government to set an example for all other Canadians to follow. Treasury Board Chairman Donald Johnston and his cabinet colleagues—including the energetic Labor Minister Charles Caccia (see page 55), whose second-year seat in the Commons reveals his second-level rank in the Treasury cabinet—opened up a campaign to convince Canadians that unions "are not entitled to increases in salary in the absence of

Mail carriers in Toronto; GM workers Don and Marion Matheson are a time of layoffs. "Just happy to go on working"





Packing fish in New Brunswick: 'There's no doubt women are the hardest hit'

COVER

substantial gains in productivity

For those who might feel that such as strike plants an unfair burden on labor, Ian Sinclair, chairman of both Canadian Pacific Enterprises Ltd. and Ottawa's blue-ribbon G-5 Committee, had an answer: "I would never support any controls program on the basis of equity," said Sinclair, who, in a recent show of personal restraint, slashed his own salary from \$600,000 to \$350,000. "Let's face it, controls aren't equitable. But a lot of things in this world aren't equitable."

Across the newly widened divide an apparently chastened McDermott is carrying a much smaller stick than he did at the May convention. In an interview at his suburban Ottawa home he acknowledged that any discussion of entering the barricades now has a hollow ring. "We have a pretty damn tight labor movement out there today," he explained. Still, McDermott suggests that the recession could bring benefits to labor, because "it may tend to civilize the collective bargaining process a lot more than people expect." It could, he enthused, even compel negotiators to take "responsible" postures.

But McDermott's remarks may hint to unions that they themselves ginned down in the freebies. In Halifax, firefighters have lagged their second strike in three years, with Glen Stoddard, president of the Halifax local of the International Association of Firefighters, vowing at week's end to keep the 345 union members off the job

until the city boosts its pay offer. "You wanted it, you get it," said Stoddard to city officials as he led his men out. And in Quebec the Common Front of Quebec public and parapublic workers last week served official notice that they are not interested in beating the brist of provincial government restraint. The unions will fight for 11.9-per-cent annual increases in their contracts (the old one expires Dec. 31). Public sector employees face Quebec's Bill 70, a law that would roll back their wages 13.85 per cent and freeze them for the first three months of 1983. And thinking aloud McDermott's law has accomplished little in Port Alberni, on Vancouver Island, where unemployment insurance will soon run out for a few thousand jobless lumber workers. For his part, Employment Minister Lloyd Axworthy says that he does not want to "rush into" extending benefits beyond the 52 weeks provided by current legislation, because he is concerned about the cost to the system, and new job opportunities at the pole mill and in the forests are not expected before 1985.

That prospect offers little hope to people such as David Tyler, 26, who is married with a 16-month-old daughter, a three-bedroom cottage in Port Alberni and a mortgage payment of \$200 each month. Tyler cannot meet those expenses as he has in place up for sale. He has not worked since July, 1981, when he lost his job as a production worker in a MacMillan Blodgett sawmill, and he has virtually no chance of landing a new job soon. "There are days

when you just like to forget everything," he says. "It's depressing." And Tyler has lost a large infusion of his union, the International Woodworkers of America, to permit a rollback of wages for its members, arguing that "if [a rollback] wouldn't have put me back to work anyway."

All of British Columbia, meanwhile, is caught up in a dispute between the 40,000-member British Columbia Government Employees Union and Premier William Bennett's Social Credit government. The government is offering the union—which is coming off a three-year contract that gave its members an eight-per-cent increase annually—a maximum of 6.5 per cent in the first year. Provincial authorities maintain that because of the present state of the economy that is all the government can afford and it has been cutting social programs in force. The union has been imaginative in its response, with General Secretary John Fryer offering to pass up a wage increase if the province uses the money to create jobs for the unemployed. "For some years," Fryer told *Maclean's* in a clear-cut statement of labor's new vulnerability, "public sector unions have realized that all-out confrontations don't work. All they do is allow governments to save lots of money."

Fryer admits to being worried about the union movement's short-term prospects. "This is the worst economic climate in the living memory of most trade unionists," he says. "And employers are becoming incredibly bullish." Many smaller companies are

Glen McDermott: 'Corporate slackness'



trying to analyze the hard-core, don't-give-inch tactics used by B.C. Telephone, a huge utility with a record of poor labor relations. And that kind of stance may become the norm for business. Fryer fears B.C. Tel recently fired 2,000 workers after the courts ruled that it had not given enough notice for an earlier, temporary layoff. "They believe in domination and they're right," says George Blawie, a vice-president at General Electric in the 1950s who approached the first bargaining session with a written final offer for the union. He also had a statement, which read: "Here, what you will be getting for Take It or Leave It."

Northern Ontario nickel miners and their families are keenly aware of the problems involved in working for a tough employer. Both Inco Ltd. and Falconbridge Ltd., the largest nickel producers in the world, recently announced new, longer layoffs as well as plans to shift staff in Sudbury early in 1983. The dominance of nickel has allowed for the United Steelworkers of America (at Inco) and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union (at Falconbridge) in a city where 63,000 are already jobless. Roda is

Sudbury currently holds the dubious honor of being the unemployment capital of Canada. Ironically, federal Mines Minister Judy LaMarsh, a native of the area and represents the surrounding constituency of Nickel Belt. Although she makes headlines locally each time she puts on a hard hat, she has not attended the headbanging by Sudbury residents.

Richard Mahon, for one, has worked for Inco since 1973, most recently at the smelter. But he recently will not be enough to save his job when the staff cuts are made in January. He lives with his wife, Susan, and two young children in a new home where the \$500-a-month mortgage payments keep his finances tight. "I'm extremely frustrated, and I'm not alone," he says. "Sudbury right now is like a pot of water on the stove—and it's about to boil." Mahon and two other workers on furlough at the Inco Ltd. Employees Committee (IUE) to counsel and assist the 1,600 who will be thrown out of work. But, he admits, "There is no air of helplessness. Every time I see makes an announcement, everyone shudders."

Consensus is also being provided in Hawkebury, Ont., where the 34-year-old Canadian International Paper Co.

Conceding in good faith

The heavy black electrical cable snaking along a highway in Toronto's Royal York Hotel was the first hint that the gathering was not an ordinary one. It led to a suite of three rooms, largely empty, except for two shielded telephones, rented IBM Selectrics, battered file cabinets, makeshift tables and, of course, a Xerox machine. It was from that place-together command post that Robert White last week overcame public opinion and strongly worded objections from his own experience's U.S. leadership to fight his first major campaign in his new crusade against contract concessions.

And while the 57-year-old White predicts that the regulated just before the United Auto Workers and General Motors of Canada Limited will encourage Canada's labor movement, he also admits that it is not without its flaws. "Although we will not Canadian car workers since hard-core paid days of a year," he is not going to say that the paid personal holidays (PPL) were not a victory. White allows, adding loftily, "but the cold hard facts were that we could not maintain them without a strike."

That, White—one of the most vocal and vocal of the fight against overpaying Ford claims that as Canadian operations are losing \$1 million daily. After that comes Chrysler, which will require a different incentive to account for its workers' lower wage rates.

White's concerns with organized labor do not extend only to collective agreements. He believes that the movement is doing more than just eroding collective agreements—it is also cutting back on labor's social and political gains. "In those times, it is much more difficult to make those gains because people are scared as hell about whether or not they're going to be working tomorrow," says White. So while labor is negotiating some concessions now, it is not going to watch silently as unemployment continues to grow. The union movement will be signing more defense contracts in less than 100 days, but they are not all turn around. White predicts a victory—"It will be demoralizing for jobs."

payments (GM and Ford workers in the United States will not see the payments for three-quarters of a year and they did not receive any general increase). As well, Canadians had onto their three-quarterly pay cut over for the past year, and they will eventually have their cost-of-living increases tied to the Canadian consumer price index (which is currently higher than the combined U.S.-Canada composite rate used). They have also lost their cost-of-living for workers with more than 10 years experience who are left jobless through plant closings.

When he entered the talks with me, White had a card up his sleeve: GM of Canada and its president, Donald Hirsch, wrote the union's argument that because of lower labor costs and the devalued dollar, the automakers have a 25-to-30 per cent advantage here. Says White: "Going into these negotiations we never said that we wanted to negotiate that difference. All we said is that we were aware of it." Although Glen-Hirsch shared the union's line on that issue, he nevertheless raised doubts dangerously just as the talks were nearing their end. He warned that union GM of Canada got wage concessions similar to those won by its parent company, but production might move out of the country. White now regards the statement as an idle threat.

With GM out of the way, White and his media command post move to another front: the steel battle. In the week of June 1982, they will begin pressing Ford claims that as Canadian operations are losing \$1 million daily. After that comes Chrysler, which will require a different incentive to account for its workers' lower wage rates.

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—IAN ADRIANS in Toronto



White: the squeeze is on

Old wave. New wave.



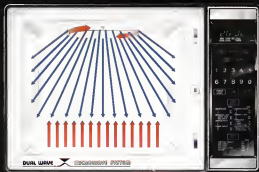
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And that's where the Dual Wave moves light years ahead. With a top entry, a bottom entry, plus a rotating antenna, the Dual Wave achieves an evenness of cooking we don't think anyone can beat.

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Working garment workers, Newfoundland loggers: back to the class struggle

COVER

1989 will, which produces sulphide pulp and in the manufacture of explosives and rayon, is permanently closing its doors on Dec. 1, throwing 540 out of work. A team of company specialists is studying each case and suggesting the kinds of jobs a worker might look for, providing advice as to how to write a résumé and related assistance. The pressure faced by Canadian labour can perhaps best be evoked by one grim Newfoundland scene one day last week, 58-year-old Armand Larocque walked nervously for his appointment with the company specialists to learn how to write a résumé—after 40 years on the job. Leaders of Local 36 of the Canadian Paper Union blame governments for high interest rates and promise to get better revenue pay for their members. But the union leaders have little muscle to work with.

Even in Cape Breton, where there has been tough for as long as the Atlantic province's only industrial centre that workers have become severely injured to appeals for wage restraint, labor faces a gloomy scenario. As president of Ontario 36 of the United Mine Workers, Ray Holland represents 3,000 miners at the federally owned Cape Breton Development Corporation (DEVCO), the largest island group to fall under Ottawa's Six-and-Five program. He dismisses the restraints as "an attempt to blame the tide of the economy on labor." But then he admits the futility of organized labor's opposition to controls in the face of federal manipulation of public opinion. Another miner's words, he says, would be "a fool's errand."

"When you lead people somewhere, you have to have something in mind for them when you get there. You don't just lead them to the edge of the cliff, the fiasco did."

When unions are squeezed, their newest members are the first to suffer. Ray Chisham, president of the Canadian Farmworkers Union, said that it becomes increasingly difficult to organize workers during the summer because people laid off from other jobs are unable to find work in the fields. In British Columbia's Fraser Valley more than 80 per cent of the 16,000 farm workers are women, and Chisham noted that they are facing double oppression. For one thing, they are unable to get good jobs to begin with. For another, they now risk being pushed out of picking jobs by men, who are flooding the market. (Farm workers are not covered by provincial minimum wage laws.) "There is little doubt women are the hardest hit," observed Lucille Ritchie, organizer for



the Canadian Textile and Chemical Union. "Wage controls freeze them into an unequal position, they are already the workers at the lowest income levels."

Ritchie attended a meeting between unions, women's groups and Ontario Labor Minister Russell Ramsey. The minister told them they should not press for legislation providing equal pay for work of equal value in the current recession because such a law would be "the straw that breaks the backs of many companies struggling through the recession."

A common thread joins the Six-and-Five theme of the federal government to that of the varying public sector-restraint programs of the provinces—including Ontario, which is expected to announce its plan this week. It is the belief that working people have a duty to make wage and salary concessions in order to help rescue the economy. Sam Gidycz, main research director, argues that the theory accompanying "the argument that corporations such as oil companies should be given concessions in the form of tax write-offs, subsidies and loan guarantees. Concessions from working people should become concessions to the corporations, and this ultimately should proceed us with a better future." It is not surprising that such union leaders as Robert White argued over every concession. They have already made revolutionary sacrifices in real wages for Canadians have fallen over the past five years while unemployment has steadily grown.

Coupled with the concessionary argument, says Ritchie, is a familiar political plea to workers to increase produc-

tivity. It is brought into play, she says, only "when it suits them and dropped when it doesn't." To illustrate her argument Ritchie points to mail workers in the post office, who are told that they can only expect wage increases if their productivity goes up. Then the post office brings in new equipment for sorting, and the same workers, using the machinery, achieve greatly improved productivity levels. But, instead of getting a wage increase, management argues that their salaries should be reduced because their jobs have become "obsolete."

Not everyone is convinced that wage concessions will do anything to protect jobs. Argues United Steelworkers Research Director Peter Warran, "Companies aren't offering any guarantees in exchange, they aren't promoting the Japanese-style arrangements, where you are with a company for life. Instead they are saying, 'Roll back your demands or we'll lay you off.'" Not only that, but, charges Warran, the current recession has been caused by high interest rates and the increase in demand, not by wage cuts. And taking more money away from most workers is not going to stimulate growth or recovery, he says. "If you those steelworkers or automakers out of work, it just means they can't afford to lay this in, so the steelworkers lose their jobs. It's a cycle," says Warran.

In Canada there has always been a strong argument that the need is not so much for marginal improvements—such as concessions from workers—but for structural changes in an economy that has been damaged by cash-stifled U.S. parent companies that siphon funds out of Canada through their subsidiaries. U.S. ownership, and Warran, is still a serious problem. The Canadian Institute for Economic Policy recently released a study that claimed that, through dividend payments and other changes, parent firms drained \$1.5 billion from the Canadian manufacturing industry between 1976 and 1983—a rate that is twice as high as the recession. A leading bond official desperately short of working capital. During U.S. negotiations, GM of Canada President Donald Hadsoworth threatened to shut down Canadian car production completely if Canadian workers did not modify their demands. And he says the UAW's Warran, was "suspicious blackmail." He adds, "Since the Second World War, Liberal strategy has been based on exporting our resources and encouraging foreign investment. Well, that strategy has run out of gas. It's time for a change."

But the consequences of the squeeze on labor are less debatable than the causes. Currently, analysts, such as the UAW, are so strapped for funds that a

prolonged strike could be financially ruinous for its members. A worker, such as Jerry Cook, who has been on the line at GM for nine years, is torn between his right to fight to improve his lot and his awareness of the futility of battling a company bolstered by today's economy, for whatever reason is cited for the momentary victory by the union leadership and says laconically "My real income will definitely be less, but I can live with it. We did better than the States. And I have still got a job, and that's the main thing."

Still, several other changes to survive this recession but, however, in the process, too weak, too poor and too frightened to fight for their membership will almost certainly lose their battle for survival. Currently, an estimated 80 per cent of the working-class Canadian population works for somebody else. "For most of these people," wrote Washington columnist Nicholas von Hoffman of this U.S. economic crisis, "the only union power there is no power...as that we are left with only merchandise surveys and public-opinion polls to make our preferences, with the exception of the CIO's McDermott, a charge echoed by other union people. Producers, such as John Muran, Lincoln Almond and Gerald Rempel, hope to delay such union power leaders, taking their pulse, bailing their hands, sometimes

twisting their terms. Cook, by contrast, has lost leverage with labor. But in an interview with *Maclean's* last week, Cook said that he is investing most of his efforts not in the Six-and-Five campaign but in his long-range goal of closer co-operation between government, business and labor. He quickly concedes, however, that he has imposed "very little tangible result." Indeed, the government's inactivity of the Six-and-Five regime on labor hardly seems likely to narrow Cook's intended consensus. He admits "there is a reality" to labor's complaint that it was not consulted in the design of the Six-and-Five. As for improving co-operation, "a lot of people have been convinced" on both sides, he said.

Cook does not apologize, on the other hand, for not consulting with McDermott. "Every time I have approached him, he's been in for an appointment, it has not been possible. He feels he should be speaking to the minister or finance or the prime minister."

The invisible minister

Labor ministers are usually glamorous types—men who make offhanded and informal people by choice and habit. But Charles Caccia, the present federal minister, is different. An earnest, brooding figure, Caccia has remained an enigma to the labor movement since he was appointed to the portfolio last September. While the cabinet has been promoting the Six-and-Five anti-inflation campaign on a worried work force, Caccia has taken almost no part in the selling job. He sat in at the two meetings that Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and a few ministers had with labor leaders in July. But, apart from an announced Dennis McDermott, president of the Canadian Labour Congress, "He never once opened his mouth."

In fact, McDermott says, he has hardly spoken to Caccia since the Toronto-Davenport Mr took on his first cabinet post a year ago. "No one knows him," says McDermott, "the labor movement," although the CIO president—a charge echoed by other union people. Producers, such as John Muran, Lincoln Almond and Gerald Rempel, hope to delay such union power leaders, taking their pulse, bailing their hands, sometimes



Caccia: "No one knows him"

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—JOHN HAY IN OTTAWA

With Malcolm Greig in Port Arthur; Anne Murray and Steven Allen in Toronto; Shona Wilson in Ontario; John Hay in Ottawa; Anne Murray in New Brunswick; Parker in Atlantic Canada; William Louch in Washington; Carol Kennedy in London and Peter Lewis in Toronto.

A fight against default

By Gillian Mackay

Two years ago, when bankers were competing to lend money to high-flying Dean Development Corp. of Vancouver, the company's chief financial officer, Max Campbell, boasted, "Our capacity to get bank financing is growing faster than our capacity to manage it." Now, Dean is pleading with the same bankers not to declare the company in default. It is ironic that Dean was once a star performer among real estate companies, which were themselves the most glamorous group on the Toronto Stock Exchange. In four years, to October, 1985, Dean's assets more than quadrupled to \$1.3 billion, making it the second-largest publicly traded real estate company in Canada, behind Cadillac Fairview Corp. of Toronto. Since then, Dean, like most real estate companies, has suffered a severe decline. Only a year ago, when Dean announced a radical restructuring in its operation, it appeared to be well poised to cope with the recession that was after selling off more than \$500 million in assets, Dean remains in real danger of being crushed by its debt load. Since July it has been negotiating with its creditors for a restructuring of its \$1.5-billion debt. Then, in August, Dean suspended interest payments on its debentures and dividends on its shares. By Sept. 15 it was technically in default. In a letter to shareholders last week, President Jack Poole disclosed that the company has asked its senior secured creditors to "waive default for a limited period" to allow time to examine "whether or not we can successfully restructure our debt." Although the letter noted that the lenders recognize "without exception" that "liquidation of the company's assets would be extremely detrimental to all concerned," observers were worried that if one small creditor refuses to go along, the company might collapse.

Dean's struggle to survive in what Poole describes as the industry's "worst slump since the Second World War" is echoed in varying degrees by all real estate developers. Like Dean, many of



Cadillac apartment tower in Toronto: massive sale

them restructured their empires on a floating spiral of borrowings, confident that inflation and rockering land values would keep their profits high. Indeed, interest rates, however, dealt them a double blow. Demand for housing, commercial and industrial buildings fell, while stripping costs on short-term debt skyrocketed. Dean pays an estimated \$750,000 a day in interest charges alone. To pare down debt and raise cash, com-

panies have been frantically selling assets, which has helped to push down real estate prices even further. The worst-hit firm are stock companies on Dean, McWest Group Ltd. and Carmax Ltd., which have large holdings of land and housing in Alberta and the U.S. Senblitt, that they are having trouble selling. Calgary-based McWest, which reported a \$78-million loss in the first half of 1982, began a program in the spring aimed at reducing assets by \$150 million in Canada and by \$200 million in the United States.

Another company engaged in a massive restructuring is Cadillac Fairview. Last week it sold a major chunk of its apartment buildings in Canada for \$270 million to Greyhound Credit Corp. as part of a previously announced plan to sell off \$1.3 billion of its \$3.4-billion holdings. Cadillac Fairview and McWest, however, Cadillac is not selling assets to stay alive, and is expected to reap an eventual profit of between \$50 million and \$100 million. Essentially, Cadillac is getting out of income-draining land and housing properties and concentrating on more lucrative ones, such as office towers, shopping centres and business parks. Although office rents are falling and vacancy rates are up in major cities, such companies as Cadillac, Olympia & York and Trizec Corp. Ltd., which own the top-quality buildings and hotels, are in an excellent position.

Even if interest rates continue to fall and the economy recovers, industry observers say it will take as long as five years for the real estate sector to bounce back. But few expect a return to the high-flying days. As developer Robert Campbell says, "I don't believe we're going to experience the kind of growth that we had in the late 1970s. I don't think we're going to see that kind of growth again in this century." For the developer, a once golden era is over.

With Jim Jones in Calgary.

Dean's Poole (left) and Max Campbell (right) recently unveiling assets



Ontario's play in Trillium oil

The timing of the move seemed ideal at best. Just days after Ontario's Conservative government recalled the legislature to deal with an urgent public sector pay restraint program, the Crown-owned Ontario Energy Corp. announced that it is participating with Sunoco Inc.—of which it is a minority shareholder—in the creation of a new oil company. Called Trillium Exploration Corp., the company will be 55 per cent owned by Sunoco while the ont. picks up 45 per cent. The cost to Ontario taxpayers, an estimated \$60 million over the next five years. That sum of revenues, at a time when the province's economy is crippled by recession, has enraged government critics. Declared Liberal Opposition leader David Peterson: "There are much better ways to spend taxpayers' money. This deal does not bring us a job or drop of oil to Ontario." Added Bob Lee, leader of the New Democrats: "There are just too damn many people unemployed in Ontario" to justify the decision.

The government's move was announced only a year after its first controversial foray into the energy business. Last fall it purchased a 25-per-cent interest in Sunoco from the company's U.S. parent, Sun Company Inc. of Refiner, Pa. Not only was that purchase condemned by critics as a misuse of revenues, but the price paid—\$650 million—was thought by some industry analysts to be too high.

Whether or not the payout was excessive remains unclear, largely because both parties refused to release appraisals of the price made by two outside firms. The reason: the documents contain information about Sunoco's operating strategies. Peterson charges that the original Sunoco deal "was such an embarrassment to the Conservatives that, rather than admitting their mistake and eating their losses, they keep spending taxpayers' money to prove the deal was a good one."

For his part, OEC President Nikolai Brown argues that Trillium will help Canada achieve oil self-sufficiency and is "an attractive investment opportunity." Under the terms of the deal, Trillium will initially have a 50-per-cent arrangement on Sunoco's interest in exploration underway on the Labrador shelf. Trillium will pay the cost of exploration and receive a 50-per-cent interest in the wells in return. But the most attractive feature of the deal is that, because Trillium will be 70-per-cent Canadian-owned, it will qualify for maximum federal Petroleum Income

taxes (PIT). As a result, it will receive 86 per cent of a \$250-million investment over the next five years. Eventually, says OEC Energy Resources Manager Wayne Brady, Trillium will also be studying the feasibility of making similar arrangements with Sunoco or other companies in the Arctic Islands, the Beaufort Sea and the Nova Scotia shelf.

Sunoco executives clearly had reason to be pleased with Trillium's birth. Originally, their plan had been to qualify Sunoco for greater PIT grants through the sale of its shares to Canada.

However, that strategy was largely ruined by the difficulty of finding buyers in a depressed market. Now, Sunoco can press ahead with its exploration program through the new corporation—with maximum help from Ottawa. And, as Sunoco itself believes Canada is in the future, it plans to buy out OEC's interest in Trillium. And that is a good deal for Sunoco. Some critics contend, however, that Ontario taxpayers will not benefit equally. Says Peterson: "The only people laughing in the whole deal are over at Sunoco."

—JAMES FLEMING in Toronto

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Rolls-Royce Corniche: supermodel sales tactics that threaten the firm's image

Rolling out the bargain prices

There was a time when even the most successful British gentleman had to wait—and wait—for the ultimate symbol of affluence: a new Rolls-Royce or Bentley. A year or 10 years driving a Mercury, Jaguar or Cadillac only served to whet his appetite until the glorious moment arrived when he could buy a Silver Cloud, Corniche, Camargue, Silver Spirit or Mulliner. But the inevitability of this upward mobility is slipping. In an stretched economy, many are beginning to have qualms about spending \$150,000 to \$200,000 to drive in style.

While the Rolls-Royce and Bentley (also manufactured at the Rolls plant north of London in Crewe) continue to epitomize all that is adored in British craftsmanship, sales in Britain last year slipped by seven per cent. Now, in order to lure people into the showrooms, some Rolls dealers have adapted the distinctly plaidan course of offering discounts—and they are large ones. A check with London dealers revealed that some are willing to slash \$10,000 off the going price of a 1982 Silver Spirit (\$153,000). If customers have cash in hand, And one dealer is even rumored to be underbidding his competitors by twice that amount. News of the "supermarket" tactics have sent nervous tremors through the Rolls boardroom, where, for the most part, executives frown on the aggressive approach because, says one, it could "take the gloss off our image." Against the widespread dual-sinking, Dennis Miller-Williams, a spokesman for Rolls-Royce in London, says, "It might be acceptable for a Citroën, but it is not really appropriate for our type of car."

Traditionally, in sluggish economies Rolls and Bentley sales have managed to coast smoothly, while cheaper alternatives tend to gather dust on showroom floors. But the recession is taking its toll this time, admits David Bevan, marketing manager of Guy Salmon, a leading London dealer. Bevan says the number of used Rolls-Royces in showrooms across Great Britain is "quite depressing."

Used models have been hardest hit by the current slump. A Rolls used to be relatively safe from depreciation, but that is no longer the case. For example, a Silver Spirit bought in 1981 for \$130,500 would be lucky to sell for \$65,000 this year.

Still, in North America—which is the second largest market for Rolls-Royces and Bentleys outside Britain—sales have held up surprisingly well. Alex de Mee, a spokesman for Rolls-Royce Motor Ltd. in Montreal, says Canadian sales for the first six months of 1982 are up 35 per cent over the same period last year. "That's rather more for us, isn't it?" says de Mee, adding that about 100 cars were sold in Canada in 1981. In the United States 445 cars have been sold so far this year, compared to 389 for the same period last year.

Meanwhile, in Britain—against the gloomy backdrop of tapering sales—workers in Crewe are gearing up to unveil one of the company's newest, fastest and most expensive models: the Bentley Mulsanne turbo, retailing for \$213,516, which is scheduled to go on sale in Britain and Europe next month. So far, only eight models have been built. To ensure that no bargains are struck by overseas dealers, however, Rolls plans to monitor all deals carefully.

—CLARE BURMAN, with Richard Donly in London

Inside Dome's fragile empire

By Peter C. Newman

The domino that turned Dome from the darling of the Canadian investment community into a four-letter word was taken at a dramatic confrontation during a private meeting in the energy giant's Calgary headquarters on June 9, 1985. Around the boardroom table that day were Dome Chairman Jack Gallagher, President Bill Richards, Senior Vice-President (Finance) Peter Breynfogle, Toronto stockbroker Doug Marston, lawyer (and lawyer Peter Felt, former National Energy Board chairman Marshall Crowe and Calgary lawyer Mike Jones, who regularly collects \$1 million a year in Dome legal fees.

The main issue before the group was how to finance the purchase of a company code-named "Sonarby." This was their confidential designation for Hudson's Bay Oil and Gas (HBOG), the Canadian subsidiary of Conoco, of Stamford, Conn., 55 per cent of which had been bought out by Dome the previous month. At the time, Dome itself was flying high: the stock had topped the worth of any Canadian security, highly favorable drilling results were expected from the Beaufort. Dome's debt load was high (between \$1 billion and \$4 billion) but still manageable.

The meeting quickly decided to go for the \$7 per cent of HBOG still in private investors' hands. The reasoning was simple only by acquiring the full 100 per cent could Dome's \$600-million cash flow be diverted to Dome's own coffers. HBOG's assets could then be stripped for an expected \$1.5 billion, with components of the newly acquired subsidiary already bid for by Dow Chemical, TransCanada Pipelines and Dome Canada Ltd. The meeting was told that a majority of HBOG would cost \$2 billion since several investors such as Andy Barlow in Toronto and Stephen Jurelewski in Montreal had been owning the shares, driving up their value.

The discussion then turned to how the banks should be handled. A majority of the meeting's participants sided with Gallagher's strongly worded contention that "Dome was founded with \$7 million in debt and \$250,000 in equity" and that this ratio should be maintained. He advocated going back to the more generous banks that had already financed most of Dome's expansion. Along with Richards he proposed getting off the deal until good news from the Beaufort had driven up Dome's already high stock value.

Opposing Gallagher was a much smaller contingent led by Breynfogle, who had been hired by Dome three years earlier to manage the energy giant's finances. In a lengthy and impassioned presentation, Breynfogle advocated immediate financing of the HBOG shares through a new offering of Dome convertible preferred shares. He denounced the stock market's propensity for absorbing a new Dome issue in opposition to the company taking in even more bank debt, making it vulnerable to upward pressure in the prime rate. But Gallagher's opposing view easily carried the day.

By the time that fateful decision was implemented five months later, interest



Gallagher: a tragedy of timing

rates had soared. Even had it wanted to, Dome could no longer take the equity route because its stock value had plummeted. All the gilt and the risk had wiped out most of the cash flow reported from the HBOG properties, and Dome's debt burden had spiralled (Breynfogle resigned from Dome shortly after the June 9 meeting, though he still refuses to discuss what happened at that pivotal confrontation).

Dome's loans now stand at an astronomical \$5 billion, with \$1.5 billion due to be paid off by the end of September. The Canadian bankers, who hold so much Dome debt that they might as well print Beating Jack's portrait on their banknotes, at one point were

accused to make Robert Randen, the former CIBC chairman, Dome's chief on-call officer. That was fine with Gallagher—as long as Randen reported to him. The banks, however, warned Randen to report to them. For his part, Randen promptly found a safer haven as chairman of CIBC Life.

Apart from its bank loans, Dome has yet to pay off many other debts, including a large one to Hudson's Bay Company for the 1979 purchase of Ryerson Oil & Gas. The last \$90-million instalment is now three months overdue. "We're one of Dome's smaller creditors," says Ralph Hekard, the Bay's corporate secretary, "but we could put them into receivership."

The Dome story is a tragedy of timing. The Beaufort Sea oil exists and one day it will fuel North America's economy. The combination of adverse circumstances that brought Dome to heel might have been averted at that June 9 meeting, but that Gallagher prevailed is hardly surprising. He has personified Dome's singularly thrust ever since he founded the company in 1953. During the past year Gallagher's personal holdings in Dome (5,292,229 shares) have declined in value from \$132 million to less than \$21 million, but his faith remains undimmed. The famous "black engineering" which has allowed Dome to flourish without paying out any significant dividends or taxes, will almost certainly save the energy empire one more time with at least some bank debt being switched into secured preferreds.

The banks were quite content to carry Dome's debt as 10-year promissory notes until the HBOG deal. That transaction made them so nervous that they drastically shortened the payout terms. Now, in secret negotiations being held in the financial Backs of Commerce's Toronto headquarters, they are trying to come up with a salvage deal. So far the bankers have hung tough, insisting that they will not refinance Dome unless the federal government provides some form of safety net. But one almost certain condition for support by the banks will be either the departure of Gallagher and Richards from their leadership of Dome or their elevation into powerless, honorary positions.

Still, the cynics who discount Jack Gallagher's shortcomings forget that he is no run-of-the-mill CEO. This is a man who has always gambled to his own damn corps, unshakable in the sanctity of his mission to tap the oil pools beneath the undergrowth on the oil fields of Saskatchewan.

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While in Toronto last week to visit Margaret Park, where his March 1977 was featured in a Cbc-Artz film. Paul Newman took a drive to have his seal about nuclear disarmament on a TV special taped in a Bloomington, Ont., hotel. The low-officely heavyweight agreed to appear on a show prepared by CITY TV, a Toronto station, to be broadcast throughout North America. The 57-year-old actor with the devastating blue eyes looked being interviewed. But he warmed up to questions asked by host **Burt Wexler** (who wrote the screenplay, *A Prayer of Older Women*) and the panel, which included authors **Jane Calwood** and **Richard Bawler**. Wexler, who initially hoped to spend 10 minutes with the actor, was "shocked" when Newman declared: "Nuclear disarmament is a very complex issue. I'd need no less than an hour with you." Later he pointed out that Wexler had spent more



Newman: disarmament needs more than 10 min.

time in front of the camera with him than **Robert Redford** in *The Sting* (aired May 10). Scherer asked Newman why U.S. President **Ronald Reagan** does not want to discuss nuclear disarmament with the Soviets. Newman, who has been a no-nukes activist for 15 years, replied seriously, "It's surrounded by people who want to sustain the arms race." Calwood suggested that women "would not be as ferocious as men if we had a little more say." The actor quickly countered, "Margaret Thatcher!"

Victor Mollen, the sultry 29-year-old model who was multimillionaire **Adrian Bloomington's** mistress for 12 years before he died of cancer last month, may be privy to a host of highly embarrassing White House secrets. That may explain the mysterious background role that President **Ronald Reagan** and his wife, **Nancy**, seem to be playing in Morgan's \$10-million publicity stunt against Bloomington's estate. Bloomington, founder of the *Elton Club* and once the department store fortune, was an influential member of Reagan's so-called "kitchen cabinet," the small circle of California businessmen who acted as his closest advisers before he took office. Bloomington's widow, **Bette**, is one of Nancy Reagan's closest friends. White House spokesman **Larry Speakes** confirmed last week that soon after the scandal first broke in August presidential assistant **Morgan Mason** invited Morgan's lawyer, the flamboyant **Marvin Mitchell**

and that is what had begun to happen. Morgan, to prove that her relationship was based on more than sex, filed an affidavit alleging "Alfred continually confided in me. He told me of his involvement in secret and delicate matters such as campaign contributions for Mr. Reagan. After the election he told me who would be in the president's cabinet and of his role in the Reagan kitchen cabinet." So far Morgan hasn't revealed any embarrassing details, but that may change. Reagan's kitchen secrets, she says, are being kept on the back burner to summer while she negotiates a settlement.

Film director Martin Scorsese was practically dined last week by his fans at the seventh annual Festival of Festivals in Toronto. More than 1,200 devotees—film fanatics, critics and professional peers—gathered to honor the director for his contribution to international movie-making. **Robert Redford** and **Glenn Close**, former hosts of *Sunset Boulevard*, a syndicated U.S. TV film forum, chaired the three-hour-long gala-and-dinner fest covering Scorsese's 15 years as a filmmaker. Toward the end of the tribute the audience was delighted when **Henry Kissinger**, star of several Scorsese films, including *Moon Swans* and *Ten Days*, joined the festivities and then was catcalled when **Robert De Niro** made an unexpected appearance. Festival organizers had invited the Sunset Service in keeping the actor's participation a surprise. Arriving in Toronto two hours before the tribute began, De Niro had in a downtown hotel room. When he reentered word that the tribute was well underway, De Niro slipped out of the hotel and walked arm-in-arm down a main street to cap the evening's events.

—EDITED BY CAROL BURMAN



Bloomington with Morgan: Reagan's kitchen cabinet secrets came out on the pillow

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A 21st-century walk through time

By Carol Bruman

On the leafy northern reaches of the University of Toronto campus, the cultural scene that is the Royal Ontario Museum is being as a modest scholarly appendage to the U of T in 1914 with a few thousand archaeological odds and ends. Today, its priceless cache totals more than six million artifacts and specimens, well known to generations of students who have strolled through its limestone portals and galleries to ogle everything from Egyptian mummies to live piranha fish. Raptor pilgrimages come to a halt 30 months ago, when the ROM closed to undergo a \$60-million facelift. And when it reopens this week, visitors will encounter a new departure from the dusty, stagnant format of yesteryear.

A walk through two new sets of "themed" galleries—Life, Reptiles and Amphibians, and World—reflects the ROM's heady commitment to becoming a showplace fit for the 21st century. Samples of Egyptian hieroglyphics and Aramaic writing are displayed like sheet music on a gleaming little stage.

The room marks the beginning of historical records, where transcriptions reveal some of the common experiences—death and disease—that still affect the course of people today.

The Chalcidic gallery chronicles the period that led to the rise of early statehood (5000 to 3000 BC). In a dimly lit cavern the burial remains of a boy—whom Les Levine, curator of the West Asian department, helped to excavate at Tel Gabli, Iran, in the early 1970s—starkly re-enact the crude conditions of the time. Colorful Middle Eastern textiles from the Byzantine period—the largest collection outside of Egypt—provide a link between the post-Roman European galleries and the later collections. They have never been displayed before because of a lack of space.

For the first time the ROM will also house an evolution gallery to explain Darwin's theory and to trace the links

between various forms of life. Three reproductions of rare 130-million-year-old fossils link prehistoric birds to reptiles. "I sincerely hope it disturbs the conventional," says Chris McGowan, head of the vertebrate paleontology department.

Renovating and expanding the ROM is a dream that was conceived 30 years ago by former director Walter Dill Scott and Gordon Witherspoon, a former board chairman. But the project turned into a nightmare for ROM Director James Crause, who was handed the task to complete what he took charge of the

the display area (its 285,000 square feet). And to enlarge the space for the ROM's 80-member curatorial staff to study and safely store their collections, a new \$16-million concrete Curatorial Centre will be built off limits to the public.

The museum has also been fitted with new wiring, a sprinkler system, air conditioning and more emergency exits to make the building safer both for its visitors and its precious treasures. "Things were so bad," recalls Audrey Elard, media relations officer, "that in the summer birds would fly in and out through open windows."

Despite hopes raised by the new additions, many ROM employees are far from content. Staff morale has never been lower, charges Levine, who complains about understaffing, boredom, a rushed re-opening date and lack of money for necessary programs and research. For his part, Crause counters with the fineness of a skilled artisan: "This is a period of final constraint for everybody," he says. "No one can have everything they like."

After internal squabbles were only a fraction of the frustration that Crause and his colleagues have had to endure. A bid to cut the ribbon on Canada



Tattered, glass-walled addition still under construction: a cultural oasis

in 1975, Crause had had to dodge fierce complaints from 13 disgruntled senior curators about which direction the ambitious scheme should take. Crause argued, so did Witherspoon before him, that the rival missions should be transformed into a "people place," complete with family multimedia presentations. The notion, however, was sent on limping the late an "encyclopaedic" haven for research, not an ethnological Disneyland.

A key goal of the ROM's board of directors was to equip the building with a spacious hall to handle touring exhibits that provide healthy box-office revenues at a time when government hand-outs threaten to become as rare as pterodactyls. To save the ROM's chronic shortage of space, architects and engineers constructed a tiered six-storey glass-walled addition, almost doubling

Day was sabotaged by a summer-long plumbers' and pipefitters' strike. And, in fact, only 10 per cent of the new gallery will be ready for public viewing when the ROM reopens. Such drawbacks, though, have not dented the director's enthusiasm. "We think that old friends of the ROM who really know and love us will be interested to see what galleries are available," says Crause. His side-tranquilizes the fact that two "black-bunter" shows are looked for simultaneously showing next spring. The *Street for Alexander*, 100 antiquities on loan from Crause, and *Treasures from the Treasury of London*, the first major exhibit ever loaned by the keepers of the 900-year-old tower. The two shows should pull in a total of 500,000 visitors, reinforcing the motto chanted over the ROM's massive front doors: THE ROM UP ROM THROUGH ALL THE YEARS. ☐



Here, the young "Anne of Green Gables" (left) and her friend (right) are seen in the painting.

Here, the young "Anne of Green Gables" (left) and her friend (right) are seen in the painting.

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America's new daily

By Ian Austin

A first glance it seems surprising that Allen Neuharth is not the United States' most influential media baron. As chairman and president of the Gazette Co., he controls more U.S. newspapers than anyone else. He has 40 daily newspapers, a news service, 30 radio stations and seven television outlets. What is more, most major U.S. magazines rely on him for news or heading that can be counted on to add up to "a world of different voices where freedom speaks."

But, despite its size, Gazette's collective voice can barely produce a whisper. The reason: until last week the chain did not publish a single major newspaper. Now USA Today, Gazette's bold extension into the national news market, which confronted competitors in Washington and Baltimore, for the first time last Wednesday, may change all that. Its appearance marked a dramatic turning point for a company accustomed to making money from community newspapers. Neuharth is betting at least \$20 million that by the end of next year 13 million Americans will want to pick up a national general-interest newspaper every morning.

The newspaper popped up in USA Today's special elevated oval news hole reminiscent to their national competition. In contrast to the other papers' antique page design and *in the Wall Street Journal's* case—photo-less columns, USA Today's 40 pages are freely splashed with color photos and elaborate graphics. Spaced in between all the flash are mostly short news stories and features. In addition, every new has sports lines from all 32 states, although not from them. And with high school athletes—and state-by-state news digest covering at least one page. Although USA Today's editor, John Dunley, regards this "national headline service" as a major selling point, David Shaw, the *Los Angeles Times's* media critic, says he finds them "relentlessly and aggressively boring."

Even though he does not like the paper, Shaw predicts that it will be a success. "One can never underestimate the average American reader's appetite for superficiality," he says. However, like many other, Neuharth has a warning: "The nation-based newspaper analysis for Lynch, Jones & Ryan—in more cautious: 'I just don't know that there are that many

people willing to buy another newspaper.' Somewhere in USA Today's high-rise headquarters, across the Potomac from Washington at Rosslyn, Va., are surveys—conducted by the Gazette-owned Lucas Harris and Associates—predicting that four to five per cent of the 65 million Americans who now buy at least one daily paper would be willing to pay an extra 25 cents for Today. Says Dunley: "People who read newspapers could be our readers on a daily basis, people who are very interested in sports in detail and people who read *People* magazine." If that is the case, Dunley says, it will not be very difficult for Today to lure advertisers, possibly at newsagents' expense.

But the record of other U.S. national newspapers is, at best, spotty. *The Wall*



Street Journal, printed at 16 locations across the country, boasts two million readers daily and claims to turn away advertisements for lack of space. Nevertheless, its success did not rub off on a general-interest effort by Don Jones and Co., the *Journal's* publisher. After 35 years and \$60 million in losses, Don Jones gave up and closed down the weekly *National Governor* in 1977. *The New York Times's* slanted-down national edition has only 100,000 readers going at its largely added pages. Even *Globe and Mail*, its nation-based daily, is losing badly. Its national edition, which is beamed, like

USA Today, the *Times* and the *Journal*, by satellite to remote printing plants. While the *Globe* will not release figures, it does acknowledge that the two-year-old edition is not yet profitable.

But Gazette—which made a profit of \$307 million on sales of \$1.4 billion last year—does not intend to lose much. The search, which will expand to 16 cities by year's end, is being done in stages. Most of the paper's 13 printing plants are the presses of small Gazette papers. About half of Today's 300 employees have been pulled—and will not be replaced—from other Gazette papers. If Today fails, Neuharth promises that he will find other jobs. And the satellite transmission system could be used for low-cost distribution of advertising and prejudicial editorial material to the chain. As Neuharth—who dresses mostly in black and white and has been described as looking a little like *Liberalism*—puts it, the start-up has been planned "with escape hatches all over so, if it's not working, we can cut out."

Ironically, the new paper may—in the



short term at least—against Gazette's editorial rigors. While most press observers say Knight-Ridder, which publishes 34 dailies, has the highest quality standards of any U.S. newspaper chain, Gazette's papers are generally judged to be a bit better than those of rivalries owned by others. But now many Gazette publications, left short-handed by the Today raid, are reeling from the loss of some of their best reporters and editors. Even if Today catches on, its success may still elude Neuharth if Today continues to be overshadowed by *Globe and Mail*, its nation-based daily, is losing badly. Its national edition, which is beamed, like

The case of the maligned general

A USA Today went on sale last week there was another major assault in the media world. Gen. William C. Westmoreland called a news conference at Washington's Army & Navy Club to announce that he was filing a \$120-million libel suit against *Time*. With tears welling in his eyes, the 68-year-old retired general told that a 96-minute CBS special report, entitled *The Uncontested Enemy*, a Vietnam Document, had portrayed him as "dishonest, untruthful and ruthless."

The controversial special, aired last January, alleged that Westmoreland had deliberately underestimated enemy troop strength in Vietnam. In his libel suit the general contends that CBS falsely stated that he and other senior U.S. military officials suppressed information about every troop buildup in order to present a "rosier picture of the war than was the fact."

Standing stiffly to attention, Westmoreland delivered his own statement of defense. "It was my duty to serve for over four years at senior American command in the most unpopular war this country ever fought. I have been reviled, branded in vilify and spat upon," Westmoreland declared. He added that he had preferred to ignore criticism but that there was no way left for him to clear his honor and the honor of the military than to take legal action.

Perhaps the main reason Westmoreland could not ignore criticism was that a highly critical article about the program was printed in U.S. editions of *Time*. As well, a number of CBS affiliate stations complained that the special had not been fair. Van Clam, Slater, president of CBS News, ordered an internal investigation, which revealed few violations of CBS News standards. (The network has not disclosed the violations.) Slater now says that it would have been better to interview more people who disagreed with the premise of the show had been interviewed. He stressed, however, that CBS will mount a vigorous defense.

In media circles the suit is raising concerns about the whole idea of journalistic investigation of public leaders. The question now being asked are: should such investigations be left until after the death of all those involved in the original incident, and should history be allowed to settle its verdict? Slater goes one step further. "The suit," he says, "constitutes a serious threat to independent journalism in our society."

—WILLIAM LOVITZ in Washington.



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Trials of courtroom TV

Ever since the 1995 U.S. trial of Bruce Hauptmann for the kidnap-murder of Charles Lindbergh's son turned into a chaotic mess of flicking cameras, bright lights and microphones, the electronic media has been branded a disruptive force not fit to report on the ceremonial courts of justice. But now, for the first time in Canada, television cameras have revealed the inner workings of the courts to Ontario viewers. Last week actual three-minute segments of criminal and civil trials were shown in a five-part series by every television station in the province.

But this trifling glimpse of the courts in action was so much a promotional vehicle as an educational exercise. The Radio and Television News Directors Association of Canada, which sponsored the package, is using it as evidence to convince Ontario's legal establishment, and ultimately its legislators, that broadcasters would act responsibly if allowed to tape trials as a matter of course. If the association is successful, it will set a precedent for other provinces to follow.

The camera was, in fact, an unobtrusive presence during proceedings that showed a defendant fighting a traffic offence, a jury selection in provincial court, a small claims court dispute and excerpts from three criminal trials, one of which involved a shooting death. Although the Ontario Supreme Court's

subcommittee on media coverage of the courts has judged the series favorably, the members want to see a detailed proposal for safeguarding the sanctity of the courts before recommending that the Ontario law be changed.

Although 39 U.S. states now allow cameras into their courtrooms, no Canadian province condones the practice, except in a few rare cases. In Ontario, for example, the Judiciary Act permits televised proceedings only when a judge makes an exception for ceremonial or educational purposes. The problem is that the exception is still of TV coverage as it was in the 1930s," says Gord Hansen, who, as news director of Toronto's CITY TV station, helped put together the pilot project. "Then it was like a carnival."

With advances in TV technology, however, one cameraman positioned at the back of the court can now provide footage using natural light and a small microphone.

But the concern of many judges and lawyers goes beyond the matter of technical feasibility. "The number one concern is that nothing be done to prejudice a per-

son getting a fair trial or endanger the safety of witnesses or jurors," says Ontario Chief Justice William Howard, who heads the media committee. Adds Toronto criminal lawyer Earl Levy: "Now, if a jury finds you not guilty, it's tough to dispel the stigma of a trial. But after it has been on television, it's going to be practically impossible."

Broadcasters dismiss the suggestion that dramatic court cases depicting real-life mayhem would be good for ratings. TV and radio stations are pushing for court coverage, says Hansen, because it would ensure accuracy and enlighten the public.

For now, however, the news directors' group is in the process of drafting a proposal for amendments to the Ontario law. In November their pilot project will be screened for the New Brunswick Law Society to start the process of lobbying for legislative change in other provinces. Still, it may be a long time before the conservative guardians of the courts throw open their doors to the electronic media. One major point of contention is the

isolation of many jurors that the presiding judge of a case should decide whether or not it will be televised, with the consent of all the parties involved. But broadcasters fear that if their right to coverage is put on trial in any case, they will be faced too often with a hung jury.

—AND KOTR in Toronto



Howard: Flicking glimpse

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ADVENTURE

Return to the mountain

It all began again late last week as three climbers from the first Canadian expedition to attempt to climb Mount Everest took 10 hours to push their way through the towering blinks of the Khumbu Icefall. The trio took advantage of a two-day lull in savage monsoon weather which had earlier contributed to the deaths of three Sherpa porters and a Canadian climber—and led to a decision by six of the team's 15 members to abandon the ill-starred million-dollar expedition.

Once the Icefall, the jagged guardian of the world's highest mountain, has been resecured, the depleted Canadian group will briefly join forces with a five-man team led by New Zealander Peter Hillary, 36, son of Sir Edmund Hillary, who first conquered Everest with Tenzing Norgay in 1953. If the weather holds, the groups will travel along the same route to the South Col, the shoulder between the soaring peaks of Everest and its sister peak Lhotse. There, the Hillary team will turn to attempt Lhotse and the Canadians will move on Everest, hoping to reach the summit by the end of October.

As the returning team members drifted into the Nepalese capital of Kathmandu last week, initial reports of team solidarity broke down. The climbers spoke of tensions within the group and they questioned the wisdom of a

descent by team leader Bill March, 45, to allow Sherpa porters into the Icefall on Aug. 25 after heavy snow during the previous days. The resulting avalanche led to the Sherpa deaths. Still, given the fractious nature of other large international Himalayan expeditions, critics that have led to multiple lawsuits and shattered friendships, the Canadian venture has been mild. "We want people to know we are still a group of friends," reassuring climber Jim Whymore, 27, told Madison's Press. "People have been taking fragments of what we say and trying to build a controversy. There is no controversy—we are behind the group on the mountain 219 per cent."

For the six who have left the expedition, however, the climb is over. For the nine members left on Everest, the job is just beginning.

—THOMAS HOPKINS in Toronto

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CRIME

Watchdogs for the courts

It was a rocky start for the electronic security system installed two weeks ago in the Ontario Supreme Court building. When an arriving student refused to surrender his briefcase for inspection, a guard pursued him into the elevator and threatened, "You do this again and I'll have the police physically remove you." "Just try it," the young man spat back.

The indignant student is only one of as many as 1,800 people who enter Toronto's Queen Street Supreme Court complex every day. It was in that building, 3½ years ago, that a bitter divorce case resulted in the shooting death of lawyer Frederick Goss. But tighter measures presented by the newly established Attorney General's Special Committee on Courtroom Security came on the heels of a more recent episode of courtroom violence. During a trial over election procedures in the city's 8th constituency on Nov. 16, 1984, Rajdeep Singh Sarna allegedly shot and killed lawyer Goss. Sarna was taken into custody by police and charged with murder. He is now in custody.

The metal detection safeguards are the cornerstone of the two-month, \$50,000 security system, which includes a baggage check, dual walk-through metal detecting units and portable electronic scanners, or wands. To date the wands have sniffed out a 10-mm knife, a screwdriver and a tall comb with a 15-in. steel end, secured from a woman seeking a divorce. Other possibilities under consideration include the installation of emergency buttons in all courtrooms and judges' chambers and the presence of uniformed police officers.

Simon Chester, general counsel to the office of the attorney general, who wrote the committee's interim report, stresses that there is no single type of legal proceeding more likely to spark violence. "All courts have to deal with individual litigants who may be obsessive, confused or even deranged."

If deemed a success, the system will likely be wired into courts throughout Ontario. The whole exercise, however, has saddened Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario William Howland. "Judges have always realized that violence was possible," he says, "but I had no reason to believe it would ever happen here."

—VICTOR FADOT in Toronto

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FOR THE RECORD

A tasteful pair of aces



Thompson (left), Pritch, speed, precise melody and tonal delicacy

BELLS

Don Thompson and Bob Pritch
(Columbia/Transt)

This pleasant, low-keyed duet album brings together two tasteful jazzmen from the Toronto club scene. Don Thompson is deservedly respected at home and abroad for his sensitive boss playing with such gurus as Jim Hall and Larry Coryell, on Drift he takes one of his more conspicuous as a multi-instrumentalist, adding vibes and piano. At 33, cultural Bob Pritch is already being hailed as his generation's Ed Reiker, Canada's exemplary guitarist. This recording debut (as a featured artist) easily displays the speed, precise sense of melody and perfect taste/delay of Pritch's guitar. The best tracks on Drift—the spry flight of Corrie, the boss set piece of Kato and Red Dreyfus, with Thompson's masterful guitar solo—are subtle blends indicating the beginning of a beautiful friendship. Their game of exchange between lead and support roles in warm and intimate, Pritch adds life and movement to Thompson's sometimes staid piano work, as in *Sepulcher*. The more experimental *Al-Nova* and *Chief never says* go, though Pritch's use of simplification and harmonics is striking here and on *Neon Dancer*. The comparatively rickety Stratford Stamp further reveals the bassist's limitations on piano. But even here Pritch's response to set tag for Pritch, Drift in part the first piece of what will have to be a long string.

—BART TESTA

BOOKS

The shadowy figure of a former wife

THE OTHER MRS. DUFFENBAKER

By Sylvia Holt
(Columbia, 270 pages, \$22.95)

She was indeed the forgotten wife. In 300 pages of memoirs, John Duffenbaker gives her a scant seven paragraphs—and those only at the suggestion of his official biographer. When he remarried two years after her death, he had her name—Edna May Brower Duffenbaker—removed from The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, the official record of his profession, for 10 years until he bowed to old friends' objections. At his funeral, one of the great state occasions (planned according to his exact wishes), her relatives were not invited to join the special guests. And finally, when he was buried, he chose to be with his "beloved Olive," the second wife who came to be an inseparable part of his identity.

Not only did Duffenbaker forget his first wife of 22 years, but the public did too. In this perhaps overly detailed biography of Edna May Brower, who died in 1950 of leukemia, Sylvia Holt, author and former Liberal MP, tries to shed light on a shadow. The story is presented with journalist Holt's own modern-day anger—much more than Edna—over the woman who gave everything to her husband's career. Duffenbaker did not forgive Duffenbaker for the missing bridge of his life.

As for Brower, Holt draws a picture of a young, lively Prairie schoolteacher, the daughter of a well-known homestead family, who became the "political belle" of an ambitious young lawyer obsessed with his dream to become prime minister. Edna was by her husband's side through common defeats, and Holt credits her with making Duffenbaker—no scholar and later—politically viable. A naturally gracious woman, she came to be loved by the politicians, journalists and voters in her home town of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. Holt kept Duffenbaker's feet in the ground, kept him from being too pompous, and often depicted the criticism he seemed to attract with such ease. As one of her friends put it, helping Duffenbaker "is his career was 'her life—her only life.'"

What emerges even more clearly than the woman who so willingly sacrificed herself is the image of John Duffenbaker as a man-child, totally dependent on women throughout his life, preferring to be accepted without those. Starting with his dominating mother,



Duffenbaker with his first wife, Edna, in 1947; forgotten after 22 years of marriage

through his two wives, his secretaries and housekeepers, he always had a handy supply of women to care for his every need. And he was a demanding husband. No matter how unwell or tired his wife might be, he expected her to be by his side. Olive, suffering from painful arthritis and dying of heart ailments, had to ask one of his aides to stop him from calling home so often for advice and reassurance. Holt speculates that it was probably a lack of sensitivity that led him to authorize shock therapy for Olive against her wishes when she spent a brief period in hospital because of depression. He simply could not cope with a wife who herself needed help.

Holt never really finds out and can only speculate as to why Duffenbaker turned his back on his first wife. He was a man who demanded complete loyalty and, while Edna was prepared to be uncritical publicly, while Olive she showed an independence of judgment in private. In later years Holt says Duffenbaker complained that his first wife had tried to get him to leave politics, and there were intimations that Edna had problems with alcohol as drugs—changes the author completely refutes. Whatever the reasons, the Chief never forgave, and when he married Olive Fremstad, Palmer, an old campaigning friend, the shadow behind the rising politician faded.

In Saskatchewan, Duffenbaker's gravestone, a marker that he selected to show his place in history, is an identical copy

of Sir Winston Churchill's. With this unashamedly partisan book, Holt has at least succeeded in erecting a simple headstone for one of the "tricky women who...worked beside their husbands to build this country, and now let's forget them in private graves."

—ANGELA FERRENTI

A harmony of stark contrasts

BLACK AND WHITE KINGS

By Hugh Hood
(BCW Press, 268 pages, hard-cover, \$22.95, soft-cover, \$9.95)

O f Hugh Hood's 12-column column—*News, The New Age*—the *News* is a sleek, new one-quarter complete and still very much in progress, the one thing that can be said is that it is a serious work. Hood, at his own words, is a writer concerned with "the soap-opera-isms" and *The New Age*, so far at least, has cut an intensely meditative eye on the middle years of the 20th century as lived by two generations of the Goderich family of southern Ontario.

Black and White Kings, the fourth installment of Hood's sometimes underhanded, if anything, more titled is purpose than the previous three novels. The black and white of the title represents not only the young Matt Goderich's confusion with the popular mass he in-

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You can pour whisky

ment to while growing up in wartime Toronto but also the changes of key that sound out the book's structure. Skirting from the romance of Matt's Toronto to the horrors of Dachau, *Black and White Key* is composed as a harmony of stark contrasts: good and evil, innocence and experience.

This intensity, however, makes the book the most intense, the most forced, and the weakest volume of *The New Age*. Matt's father, Andrew Guderich, the pacifist philosopher of the previous books, is enlisted as the key figure in a secret and highly dangerous mission to

rescue the world-renowned childer Georg Mendel from Dachau. The rescue never becomes a credible story—it's premise remains unconvincing, its execution improbable, and Hood's prose, on the unfamiliar ground of wartime Europe, seems laborious and turgid.

The almost mystical connections of plants, scenes and events that so gently underpinned the histories of the previous books are, in *Black and White Key*, all but lost in Hood's peculiarly colorful combination of suspense and didacticism. Indeed, readers of *The New Age* will wonder how it is that Andrew Guderich, the determined and practical mentor of nature, was ever born of the gentle character described by his son in the first book of the series, *The Spring in the Garden*. "I missed the first one," he would say with a weird blend of glaucous and bilberry, "and it looks like I'll miss this one too." He

sees afterward reproached himself with not having noted, thought himself very lucky to have missed both wars. The characters, it seems, are beginning to jump through the hoops of Hood's moral vision and are not simply living what was previously a convincing story. Hood is best at describing Matt Guderich's adolescence and Toronto in the 1940s—the wartime morose, his high school girlfriend, wrestling matches at

Maple Leaf Gardens. Hood's compassion and quiet sense of awe are remarkable, his memory and eye for detail uncanny (although "the late Frank Thompson" it should be pointed out, is alive and well and still promoting fights at the Gardens), and his prose, lucid and confident, can be charming. The lengthy passages on the careers of Frank Sinatra, Bing Crosby and Perry Como, however, are increasingly dull, without any of the radiance that shines through so much of Hugh Hood's way of seeing. Matt Guderich is fascinated by the popular singers of the day, himself intent on becoming one, but there is little interest in Hood's description of his adoration. *Black and White Key*, because it does not see into things, never really comes to life.

—DAVID MACFARLANE

When plotting becomes plodding

THE SKULL BENEATH THE SKIN
By P.D. James
(Corgi & Orion Dromps, 225 pages, \$24.95)

Saccharine detective berlines are slow and far between. Agatha Christie's Miss Marple, for ex-

ample, was aged and eccentrically boring. Dorothy Sayers' Harriet Vane was much more interesting as an unconventional woman turned by a crime of passion, but she didn't actually do much detecting. Ten years ago Cordelia Gray arrived on the scene in a book called *An Uncomfortable Job for a Woman*, by British crime writer P.D. James. Cordelia was a little young (22) and a touch ingenuous, but she was also tough and clever and eloquent. Furthermore, her approach to justice was uniquely female: solving the case to satisfy the law was not Cordelia's concern, unlike James's other detective, Adam Dalglish. Integrity and straightforwardness to her like a whiff of refreshing perfume.

The second Cordelia Gray novel has at last made its appearance. But in *The Skull Beneath the Skin* James's own interest has been caught in working out an extremely ordinary female—house party, romantic island, husband, guest meeting appropriate fate, whodunit?—and not in further explorations of the fascinating Cordelia. This time the heroine mopes off as a bodyguard and companion to the middle-aged and venal actress Charmis Lisle in a "hewn plastered shirt in fire wool" and maturing "such more two-page." Cordelia may now live in a 1980s loft on the top floor of an old factory building in central London, but in this book she seems as resolutely

1990s as the formula itself.

James has always been a solid plotter whose murders took place in confined and carefully controlled situations. Character has always been what set her apart from the run-of-the-mill mystery writer, and in this book, too, her people take definite and intricate shape. Those who have a motive for murdering Charmis Lisle include the host of the house party, who has been decored by the actress to stage a comeback performance of *The Descent of Man*, Lisle's exiled husband and her simply psychotic stepson from a former marriage. And one of her numerous ex-lovers, Leo Whittingham, an acerbic drama critic who is dying of cancer. Whittingham reflects that, indeed "MIE lasted longer

than desire, longer even than love," as he smiled at the realization that what was most alive in him now was the capacity for murder.

The *Skull Beneath the Skin* is full of such beautiful bits and pieces, which do not come together in the tight warp and woof of character and crime that make a classic of detective fiction. James's careful plotting, despite the mantronicness, comes close to plodding. The worst bit, however, though, is Cordelia herself, who solves the murder with all the panache of a good and clever girl scout—the kind who would not even perform, let alone be aware of the impact of her own interesting scent.

—ANDREW COLLINS

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *The Fatal Mission*, *London* (2)
- 2 *The President's Daughter*, *Amherst* (2)
- 3 *Diff'rent Seasons*, *King* (2)
- 4 *The Man from St. Petersburg*, *Polina* (2)
- 5 *Shades of the Game*, *Shelton*
- 6 *The One Tree*, *Dorchester* (2)
- 7 *Wingspread Skies*, *Orson* (2)
- 8 *The Case of Lady Bending*, *Susanna*
- 9 *River Herring*, *Plain* (2)
- 10 *Friday*, *Memphis* (2)
- 11 *Portrait*, not used

Nonfiction

- 1 *Cascade with Love*, *Mont* (2)
- 2 *Love Ponds & Mountain Bells*, *Ponds* (2)
- 3 *The Great Code*, *Pipe* (2)
- 4 *The Vampire Strikes Back*, *Laurie* (2)
- 5 *Princesses*, *Lenny* (2)
- 6 *Living, Loving and Learning*, *Shanika* (2)
- 7 *When Bad Things Happen to Good People*, *Enoch* (2)
- 8 *Years of Upheaval*, *Kimmer* (2)
- 9 *Little Redheads*, *Princess* (not used)
- 10 *The Face of the Earth*, *Shelton* (2)



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I was the penniless artist and he was the guy studying economics and there were some credits under his arm that I would have mugged him for, except that I knew him.
—Keith Richards.

With his eye on the imported American rhythm and blues albums, Keith Richards reacquainted himself with his old primary school class, Mick Jagger on a commuter train platform one grey morning in 1960. Richards was on his way to "some suburban art school," and Jagger was off to his studies at the high-powered London School of Economics.

That instantaneous encounter marked the genesis of the most suspicious Rolling Stones. Richards' reminiscence of the meeting starts *The Rolling Stones, Past and Present*, a 12-hour radio documentary which will feed stories across Canada and the United States beginning this week. Put together by Toronto producers David Pritchard and Alan Lysaght, the show features extensive exclusive interviews, weaving together the threads of the Stones' career. By establishing a special rapport with the band, Pritchard elicited Jagger's feelings on John Lennon and caused the normally reserved Richards into a gregarious mood. "It was almost as if he was going to be instant and had to tell us everything," says Pritchard. "He told us about covering all

drugs and only half-jokingly, that he thinks the Mountains. He told us all the soul things, not just the facts." The facts are supplied by an extensive history of the band's music, including such rare tracks as an unissued early version of Be Dolly's *Road Runner* (their first recording) and a live version of *Time Is on My Side* introduced by a tongue-tied Bill Solvies.

Like Pritchard's and Lysaght's successful documentary on the Beatles last year—which attracted millions of listeners around the world—the Stones show was produced out of Pritchard's tiny basement studio in Toronto on a meagre \$70,000 in equipment and a \$16,000 budget. Even before its first airing, the project had grossed more than \$200,000 through its Dallas-based syndicator, Broadcast International (BI). Between Sept. 20 and Oct. 25, the program will be heard on 28 stations in Canada and more than 200 in the United States. "The Americans thought we had a first-story building and a billion dollars in equipment," says Lysaght, "but you don't need that to produce good things. You need a brain."

One of the particular brains involved came to the project with an unusual background as is possible in Canadian radio. Pritchard, now 37, began his broadcast career by operating an often airt station (called CBO) from his parents' Willowdale, Ont., basement when he was 24. He reached a larger audience during his legendary stint on the all-night show on Toronto's C1020 FM from 1963 through 1975. The show was called "the most unusual, unpredictable radio program in Canada, if not the continent," by *The Globe and Mail*, a typical half-hour would feature a couple of minutes of Pritchard's philosophizing followed by the sound of a dropping kitchen tap segued into a musical outburst of Beethoven, John Coltrane and Captain Beefheart. One of the many who cherished the show was Lysaght, now 38, who incorporated many of the same techniques on a Toronto radio cable station during the late 1970s.

By that time, however, commercial radio had become more homogenized as many stations drifted toward a Top 40 format. Some of the more innovative programmers—such as Pritchard and Lysaght—were left out in the cold and driven to the independent route of syndication—packaging a show for sale to a number of stations. Their first collaboration, *The Beatles, The Days in Their Life*, grossed about \$300,000. "His Beatles special proved that Pritchard is one of the finest radio producers in this country," attests broadcaster Rainer Schwart, a contemporary of Pritchard's. "It impressed radio for every station that tried it." It is no coincidence, then, that the airing dates of the Stones show are precisely

those of the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement's fall rating period.

Those Canadian stations carrying the show will be indirectly giving a portion of their payment to Outcast Entertainment, which controls Broadcast International Capitalizing on the creators of *Sympathy for the Devil* presented no problems to the *Women On Top* family. "If [the Stones] were changing the face of the earth it only reflects in President Gerard Stern," it

would be something else. They're just entertainment," Pritchard himself has hopes that the profits from the Beatles and Rolling Stones shows will provide the artistic license to pursue projects beyond the realm of "just entertainment." High on his list of possibilities is a 1980s version of his all-night show. Pritchard may not have got what he wanted from private broadcasting but he's giving it back what it needs.

—ALINA GILTSBER

Lysaght (left), Pritchard (right) getting the soul things, not just the facts.



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A new war on legionnaires'

I seemed innocuous enough: a group of war veterans gathered in Philadelphia, Pa., in July, 1976, for a convention. Six months later, 182 cases of a pneumonia-like disease had been reported, and 39 people had died. The killer was dubbed legionnaires' disease. But even though the virus has been successfully identified by the Center for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta and called *Legionella* bacterium, the lack of an early diagnostic tool—the key to preventing death—has frustrated both the scientific community and the public. In the past six years there have been more than 250 cases of legionnaires' disease in Canada and more than 300 cases of Pontiac Fever, a milder form of the disease.

Because of a three- to six-week diagnostic period, more than 10 Canadians and about 600 victims in the United States have died. Recent efforts by a team of Toronto researchers, however, have produced a new method of identifying legionnaires' early and quickly. Dr. Stanley Toma, Patricia Tang and Denis de Savigny, at the Laboratory Services

Branch of the Ontario Ministry of Health, have pioneered a urine test called Reverse Phagoc Agglutination, or RPA, which can be carried out just three days after the onset of the disease. Although other tests for early diagnosis are under development at Toma's lab and several other centres in North America, the RPA method appears to be the most promising. At the 141st-Dug hospital in Montreal, for example, microbiologist Dr. Denis Phaneuf has implemented an enzyme technique known as ELISA (Enzyme Link Immunosorbent Assay) to use as a legionnaires' test. However, Toma's takes less time for a positive reading (30 minutes as opposed to man's 24 hours) and requires less sophisticated equipment and technical skill. Standard laboratories may eventually be able to adopt this as a routine test, and patients would not have to rely on the hit-and-miss system of a physician's specialized knowledge of legionnaires' symptoms in order to prompt a special examination. While Phaneuf holds out hope for his own process, he admits that Toma's method



Toma and Phaneuf: early diagnosis—*in years and 250 Canadian cases later*

is probably now "more sensitive."

The advance comes at a time when the environmental battle against legionnaires' is at a standstill. Although the nature of the disease is now understood, much about its occurrence remains a mystery to researchers. It is known that *Legionella* bacteria exist to some degree in most aquatic environments, natural as well as man-made. Air conditioning and plumbing systems have been identified as breeding

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growth, but scientists have yet to find a corrosive material that will eliminate the bacteria without the wholesale destruction of equipment. Not only that, but even if a powerful chemical did destroy the ambient bacteria, the rugged *Legionella* could reappear from a few weeks to several months later.

Since the onset of the disease cannot be controlled, the necessity to conduct early diagnosis underscores the importance of the Canadian health-care system. Other problems also reinforce the significance of Tosa's find. At first, the "flu-like" symptoms can mimic other kinds of pneumonia—coughing, flu-like aches and fever. Yet treatment by any antibiotic other than erythromycin (or rifampin for those unable to take erythromycin), first proved effective against *Legionnaires'* by the CDC, is pointless and possibly deadly. Says Tosa, "A lack of skill or experience could make [a physician] interpret a negative result as positive or a positive result as negative, and without the required treatment the patient may die." Worse, present techniques for diagnosing the illness can only be implemented once the disease has reached an advanced stage, placing the patient in greater peril. Current blood tests fail to render a positive diagnosis until two to four weeks after the onset of the disease.

Despite the encouraging nature of their detective work, however, the Toronto team is caught in a medical bind. The lack of current early detection techniques such as the one they have developed means that some samples for their research went from *Legionnaires' disease* who have only been discovered in latter stages of the disease. By that time the presence of chemical indicators of the disease in the urine can no longer be easily observed. Without the number of readable samples required for clinical proof, Tosa fears that approval for use by the federal department of health and welfare could be some time away. Nevertheless, after six years of research, the net around the mystery killer appears to be closing.

—MOLLY CONRAD with
Jacobs Center in Toronto

Loganville bacterium, active but rugged
PHOTOGRAPHY

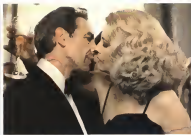


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FILMS

A potent toast to life

TEMPER

Directed by Paul Mazursky

Temper, Paul Mazursky's lyrical, loose and daring adaptation of Shakespeare's posthumous play, is the first movie ever to feature dancing goats, more metaphorical than they are literal. The movie is an extraordinarily original flight of the imagination from a director just swailing the genius of his powers. One of the shrewdest observers of modern attitudes and foibles, beginning with Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice, Mazursky is a satirist with a broad forgiving streak, a very humanist with large reserves of sentiment. Yet nothing he has done is sufficient preparation for the scope or emotional grandeur of *Temper*. This is Mazursky's toast to life and it moves with a rhythm all its own.

Temper is not just another mid-life

crisis story. Philip Dimitrios (John Cassavetes), a hugely successful architect, quits Manhattan for what he supposes will be the serenity of a Greek island. But Philip's crisis does not come from reading *Pargament*, it comes from his soul—he is just not certain of anything anymore. In old man is not knowing the value of his job, he does not know what he feels for his wife, Antonia (Gena Rowlands). When she takes to the arms of her boss, Alois (Vittorio Gassman), Philip takes off with their teenage daughter Miranda (Molly Ringwald).

The story of *Temper* comes at us as a personal tale, all interludes. Structurally the film slips seamlessly in and out of the past and present although it is framed in a single day. In a sense it is an exploration of Philip's first love as he wakes up as he is asked "What I wouldn't do for a different nightmare."

Temper taken place inside Philip's mind, in which there is a desperate desire for magic and a need to forgive the world for what it is. "I've forgotten what it's like to be and allow me," says Antonia (Susan Sarandon), a Southern American whom he picks up in Athens. Philip's exuberance on the island drives Antonia crazy, but he has been alerted to the difference between biology and culture and wants to believe it is a harmless truth. The polished Miranda solves for the outside world; Kallikrass (Khal Jilka), the original sole inhabitant of the island, keeps after her, bring her back to his men in which there is a 77—a modern substitute for Philip's love.

Everyone in *Temper* is experiencing a crisis, and everyone's dream becomes the more tantalizing the longer the stay on the man-crooked island. In the screenplay, which Mazursky cowrote with Leon Caplan, Shakespeare's characters seem intact, albeit slightly altered. Philip is not a magician, as was Prospero, but he wields the magic that causes Antonia and Alois to land, shipwrecked, on the island. The sprightly Antonia is a more belated version of Ariel. And the dancing goats are as creative not unlike the wish Shakespeare might have said.

The actors in *Temper* create intimacy out of their roles as if they were whispering into your ear. Not one gesture or glance is overdone or misinterpreted. John Cassavetes gives his finest full-scale performance, and personae Molly Ringwald is an actress to whom the term radiant can be applied without any grail whatsoever.

Mazursky's movies have always wowed life with a twinkle, yet seldom so gracefully as here. He has kept his bracing sense of humor and it empowers the movie, leading light into its darker corners. Philip cannot escape his nightmare, but he does learn to live with it. The movie ends with an amazingly sustained sequence in which everybody wakes in a last-in-late grove to a tango. It is like a kiss in the dark repeated over and over.

—LANTANA O'TOOLE

Maturing—with growing pains

Toronto's Festival of Festivals came off as last week with 17th anniversary first including the late Robert Warner Fashender's *Veronica*. Von, Michelangelo Antonioni's *Identification of a Woman* and Jerry Seinfeld's *Seinfeld*. But maturity means growing pains, too. Along with the usual scandals and stars, wheeling and dealing reached a new gait among buyers for burgeoning pay-TV markets in North America. Says festival director S. Wayne Clarke: "They

didn't come up just to sit in the bar—they came to see movies."

The lineup for the opening night gala was in question until the last minute. Clarke went all out to get the most eagerly awaited Canadian production in years, Robin Phillips' *The Wars*. But distributors for the film has not been settled, and its main producer, Turner, despite the urging of its coproducers, the National Film Board and the Canadian Film Development Corporation, refused a screening. Says Clarke, who

has seen it: "I rarely get passionate about anything, but I'm sure it would have brought the house down."

Still, there were many compensations. An impressive array, *Author as Screenwriter*, matched films with personal appearances, among them John Irving for *The World According to Garp* and Nobel Prize winner Czeslaw Milosz for *The Innocent Victim*. Video finally caught the public eye, as did West German director Lothar Lambert, whose new film *Paradise* drew the particular wrath of the Ontario Censor Board. John Cassavetes and Gena Rowlands graced a retrospective in their honor, and glib lovers were contable

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TIP TOP

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about the special tribute to Martin Scorsese, with surprise guest Robert De Niro. A *Reel* retrospective revealed a busy combination of sex and politics, but the U.S. profile was low. Hollywood weighed in with Hammett, an uneasy collaboration between director Wim Wenders and producer Francis Coppola, and Paul Mazursky's *Tomcat*.

As the festival's trade forum made clear, our TV's insatiable appetite has made it the shining hope for independent film-makers. All six Canadian pay TV networks showed up with acquisitions and production plans for the Feb. 1, 1993, start-up.

The festival also provided impressive arenas for political jawbating. At an informal dinner hosted by director Mar-



Film-maker Wenders in Toronto. They come to see movies, not to drink.

can Jewison, federal Communications Minister Frances Yaak sat down with Motion Picture Association of America President Jack Valenti to smooth feathers pulled by the industry's apparent desire to bring Columbia Pictures' Canadian distribution subsidiaries under Canadian control (Maclean's, Sept. 28).

The sudden transformation of the festival into a major buying mart took organizers by surprise, and the onslaught poses a dilemma. Asks Checco: "Do we want to serve this interest or do we want to retain the editorial focus?" Serving two masters may not be impossible, however. For one thing, a savvy Canadian retrospective, postponed this year because of a lack of funds, is now planned for 1993. If the rush to buy is still on, pay TV producers, the independent film industry and cultural objectives might all, surprisingly, be accommodated.

—MARK CHAMBERS in Toronto

A detective with no mystery

HAMMETT

Directed by Wim Wenders

Despite appearances, *Hammett* is not a detective story. What could be more up mystery alley, one may ask, than a fictional movie whose main character is Dashiell Hammett himself, the private eye turned writer whose gritty criminal fictions created a new genre in literature and later in cinema with film noir? Is this not the story of *Hammett* (Fendito Forsetti) being dragged out of retirement by his former partner, Ryan (Peter Boyle), to find Crystal Ling, an escapee from white slavery? And what about the falcon perched casually on Hammett's desk, looking suspiciously like the main prop in *The Maltese Falcon*?

If all smacks of obsequious homage, still another remake of these fabulous '30s flicks with the cold, sinister villains, glossy sets, weed-covered angles (one scene is shot from beneath a glass floor) and stilted dialogue (*Don't move, I'm both more and less than the sum of its parts*, snarls director Wim Wenders as he roams these surrealistic plots in the name of that old chestnut, does an easy life or life art? This is a gamble and not completely successful—reducing the whodun question may disappoint many managers—but hangovers will be adequately rewarded.

The opening sequence—Ryan on a dock engineering a blacked-out pickup and delivery—turns out to be the imaginary ending to a story Hammett has just completed based on his adventures with Ryan, Luke Aladdin, the real Ryan turns up, grumbles about being used as a writer, criminal, and drug. Hammett off to hunt Crystal. Predictably, they get mugged in smoky Chinatown, also predictably, *Hammett* loses his manuscript, and in the ending maybe in class to the mystery and suspense around with the reality of real life.

Parrot's point-by-point actual persons is ideal as he posed-entirely grumbles to a manningish solution. Naturally, Hammett and his manuscript wind up on that same dock. With magnificent slings of hand, Wenders lays down the trumpet of his art—gleaming, oily water against a powder-blue backdrop, swirling close-up of a beautiful woman's face contrasting Hammett to mix away with her, sudden betrayal through a red pane. "It's almost like the end of your story," murmurs his maid. "Life never turns out the way you think," Hammett replies. And film noir itself may never again be simply a matter of black and white.

—M.C.

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MACLEAN'S/SEPTEMBER 27, 1992 43



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Sweet dreams of the future

By Allan Fotheringham

The world is too uncertain. Confusion reigns in the minds of the poor reader, buffeted by conflicting reports and uncomprehensible details. The ordinary citizen despairs, not knowing which way to turn. Some assistance is needed. Luckily, Dr. Fotheringham knows all. Further, he is cheerful and prepared to share his wisdom. Rest easy. Under the mind. Less back this world unfolds.

There will be further bad news for the Liberals, which they so richly deserve. On Oct. 12 the Conservatives will win the New Brunswick election. Richard Bedford will be the longest-serving premier in the land and as becoming as familiar to voters as an old Queen's slipper. He shyly picked the election date so as to embarrass the Ontario Liberals further, even that is also the date of the three federal elections. The Liberals will lose all three, and their lowered vote percentage will indicate in all the headlines what we already know about their public affection for the Trans-Canada. The Conservatives will keep Tom Cusack's seat in Leeds-Greenwood, and the New Democrats will take

as the new Borden minister will assure the nervous business community that he is all for unfettered free enterprise and that, in fact, his mother was born on Bay Street. Vancouver Canucks will not win the Stanley Cup. Pierre Elliott Trudeau will not leave politics until at least late 1983, thus keeping columnists, courtiers and editorial writers in business a little longer. He will continue to be loved by Western Canada. Premier Peter Lougheed will call an election in Alberta in the fall and will retain power with the Western Canada Concept, becoming the official Opposition. The

Montreal Expos will lose the pennant as the final weekend of baseball, and manager Jim Fanning will be replaced by Josea Drapens. Margaret Trudeau will get her name in the papers. Allen MacKenzie will go to a lot of cocktail parties abroad in his new incarnation as external affairs minister but will get someone else to add up his expense account. Gilles Lamontagne will be put in the Senate as a reward for doing nothing as defence minister. Maureen McTeer will publish a book while refraining from revealing what she thinks about Margaret Trudeau's decorating tastes. Another sports-writer will urge that Wayne Gretzky get into a fight. Marc Lalonde will assure bankers that they have nothing to fear. Baskin will grow nervous.

Robert Bourassa will continue his efforts to return as leader of the Quebec Liberals, and the party will shift the leadership convention date even farther into the future. Conrad Black will make money. Joe Clark will survive the encounter with his loyal supporters in January but not the leadership convention date even farther into the future. The Tories will manage to do the impossible: seen again—conquering Clark as leader, but with such an optimistic margin that his credibility will be wounded once more. Premier Bill Davis will set another Guinness Book of World Records mark with a sentence containing 367 words. It will be in English, but so will one word in it, including Davis. The Tories will win the Prince Edward Island election on Sept. 27, which will be a further embarrassment for the Liberals, who are new lawyers in Alberta as the Eastern Canada Concept.

Marc Lalonde will assure stockholders that all is well and that he does not intend to outdistance Don and Bradstreet. The market will fall. Nancy Reagan will buy some new clothes. Bob Kaplan will say something stupid. René Lévesque will smoke. Harold Ballard will smother someone. The world will continue to revolve, and the Liberals will continue in power for two more years. These few better?

Western Canada Concept will continue to believe in the flat Earth, the theory of creation and that babies are found under cabbage leaves.

There will be strife in British Columbia. Ranee Reagan will continue to run the world off her car cards. The White House will continue to be run by a combination of men who used to work for the Beech Group and feel that foreign relations are essentially a matter of outdressing. Menachem Begin will lose his election. Bill Bennett will win his British Columbia after a scandal revealing that three Social Credit cabinet ministers accepted five passes to a bowling alley. Another young minister will confess that she once passed money to a young girl to support her ancient mother's tobacco-chewing habit. Michael Foot will continue his remarkable feat of being invisible while serving as the leader of Britain's Labour Party. Sharna in British Columbia will continue to rise as Margaret Thatcher's burlesque survives.

Winning Blue Bombers will win the Grey Cup. Coach Ray Jacob and Edmonton Eskimos coach Hugh Campbell, who reneged on contracts to sign on with the new United States Football League, will denounce players who try to do the same on their new teams. Marc Lalonde, who, as always, misleads, misleads, very miscalculates, and brought Alberta to its economic knees.

Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.



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